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The War Is Not Over

The Russian offensive has achieved major successes; it has not yet, however, produced any situation that promises an early end to the war. In fact, the major battles of the campaign are only just beginning, the terms and ground on which they are to be fought being decided. They are by no means the terms and ground on which the Germans expected to fight. The accumulating evidence of pattern in the operations suggests that the Nazis fully expected to be attacked from the Sandomiercz bridgehead and in central Poland; that they counted on withdrawing before this onslaught to make a stand along the line of the Silesian frontier to where it crosses the Kalisz-Oppeln railroad, then following that road along the line Ostrow-Kalisz-Posen-Gniezno-Inowroclaw-Torun.

Such a line would leave the Russians with a long salient badly supported by lines of communication, while the Germans would have good communications all round the circle and excellent opportunities for counter-attack. During all the early stages of the attack, while the Germans were going back to this line, the phrase "according to plan" kept repeating itself in their communiqués, and the Soviet bag of prisoners, considering the size of the movement, was disappointingly small. But the Russians achieved a surprise in the elements of weight and speed in the south, got through the line below Kalisz and went right on into the Silesian industrial areas. Whether these can be partly held by the Nazis is still uncertain as this is written, but it is at least evident that they will be of very little future value to German war production, and that fact constitutes a major success.

The Germans Must Improvise

Another success was achieved in East Prussia, where again there was a surprise by weight. In the second week of the offensive the number of prisoners reported by the Reds jumped abruptly from 20,000 to 60,000, and the majority of them would appear to have been taken in East Prussia, where the Germans have been forced to fight without fixed defenses against a highly mobile enemy. In the center Zhukov's offensive has, indeed, penetrated the German position, but not shattered it. Places like Posen, Torun, Bydgoszcz, were reported as encircled, attacked, besieged, but not captured, and both sides speak of heavy fighting there.

Whatever plan the Germans originally had is now thrown out of joint. They are fighting an improvised campaign, but what line it will take is still obscure, except in Silesia, where their first attempts to hold the Oder were successful. The whole country is flat, with rivers and cities the main military features (the ability of the Germans—and sometimes the Russians—to make a city into a major fortress has been one of the most striking technical features of the war), and there is no obvious complex of stream and town for them to use. Until they have chosen and have made the place the scene of battles by delivering their counter-attack, everything but the capture of the Silesian cities and East Prussia remains a real-estate development rather than a military campaign.

Japan's Suicide Squads

There has been a good deal of complaint from the American armed forces that the home front fails to realize the difficulties of this war, but they have only themselves to blame. This week the censorship cut 80

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words from a dispatch by Clark Lee, one of the most experienced and careful of the correspondents. The deleted passage followed one in which he remarked that Japanese communiqués had practically ceased to refer to normal aerial operations and obviously dealt with the enemy's suicide bomber groups. The policy is apparently to pretend that such groups do not exist; yet without understanding them and the military system of which they are a part, it is impossible to understand anything about the campaign on Luzon, or the whole Pacific war.

Seen on the map and in the dispatches from the front, the movement down from Lingayen has looked so easy that even quite experienced observers have been driven to wonder where the Japs will make their stand. The thing that does not get into the dispatches is the fact that they are making it all the time, as they are still making it on Peleliu, Leyte and even Guam. They have worked out a defense based on the suicidal valor of the individual Japanese, who hides out in a hole somewhere with his rifle and grenades and lets twenty men go by to take a shot at one. In Luzon, this scheme appears to have been erected into a regular method of campaign. The Japanese have avoided battle in open country against MacArthur, who has a high reputation for conducting this type of operation, but wherever the American columns have touched hill country there has been trouble, and trouble not so much with fixed lines of defense as with small groups infesting the whole area.

This is guerrilla warfare raised to the *n*th power, full of such incidents as that reported from Saipan this week, where a Jap with a grenade sneaked into a plane on the field, and when the aviator arrived, tried to blow up himself and the plane together. The chief difference in the case of Luzon is that it appears to have been adopted as the main method of the campaign from the beginning. Though it presents a problem new to military history, it has not yet succeeded in stopping the Americans for any length of time.

The Arena of the Great Offensive

The Russian winter offensive has attained satisfying results in a geographical sense and, by cutting off the Silesian industrial region, has further lowered Germany's ability to continue the war indefinitely. But it is still rather early to talk about the Russians' getting to Berlin, while hard fighting is going on only halfway between that city and Warsaw. Though it is no parallel for today, it is interesting to remember that in 1760 East Prussia was overrun and Berlin actually occupied by the Russians, but it was Frederick the Great's Prussians who won the war.

Montgomery Ward Again

Judge Philip L. Sullivan, of the Illinois Federal District Court, has held that seizure of the Montgomery Ward properties by the government is illegal, since the firm deals at retail only. The case will be appealed to the Supreme Court, and we shall then see what we shall see. The Judge looked in the Century Dictionary, and found that "production," which the government can control under the law, does not include distribution at retail. But the Oxford Dictionary says that "production" means, in political economy, "production of utility," and Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary says "production" means "producing for use" or "supplying." Even the Century Dictionary calls production "the creation of values." It would seem that the Judge had strained the dictionary meaning to make his point. Distribution is certainly a part of the productive process, from the consumer's point of view.

Although the newspapers did not emphasize it, Judge Sullivan gave Sewell Avery a stinging rebuke, saying that "loyalty to our country and our fighting forces" should cause patriotic Americans to work with the WLB and not against it. The decision sent Ward stock up 2.75 points. It is possible the company may live to regret a stock-market increase gained on such terms.

AFRA and Mr. de Mille

A superior court in Los Angeles has now ruled against Cecil B. de Mille in his dispute with the American Federation of Radio Artists, AFL. Mr. de Mille puts on a radio show, in addition to his work in the movies. Last autumn all the members of AFRA were assessed $1 each to fight a proposed amendment to the California State Constitution. (The New Republic also opposed this amendment which, though seemingly innocuous, would in fact have destroyed trade unionism in that state.)

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Mr. de Mille refused to pay his $1, on the ground that the union was forcing him into political activity against his will. The union thereupon ruled that if he did not pay his dollar, he would not be in good standing, would not be allowed to go on the air, and would presumably lose his radio job, which pays $98,200 a year. The superior court has ruled that the union is right. Mr. de Mille has announced he will take the case to the United States Supreme Court.

The union having won a moral victory over Mr. de Mille, we think it ought now to drop the case. Whatever the union leaders may feel about the rightness of their position, to the general public the treatment of Mr. de Mille is bound to look like coercion of a union member in the political field. In the late election the leaders of the CIO-PAC were repeatedly charged with doing this, but they had taken great pains to guard against its happening, and in every instance they proved the charge to be false. The de Mille case is being used as propaganda against all unions. It can do harm a thousand times greater than any benefit to be gained by having AFRA stick to its guns.

On Coöperating with Russia

Russia's request, at this time, for an American loan of $6 billion for the purpose of postwar reconstruction is more than a mere financial proposition. As such a loan is impossible, under present law, without special authorization by Congress, it is obvious that whatever answer, positive or negative, is given to the Russians will be a test of American, and especially congressional, friendship toward the Soviet Union. Quite apart from the fact, therefore, that granting of the Russian request would be a sound business investment, it would be, from the Russian point of view, proof that we are ready to implement our wartime professions of partnership by concrete deeds. For this reason the loan would help to allay lingering Russian suspicions.

For the same reason, we regret the reported intention of the American Federation of Labor to leave the International Federation of Trade Unions if the latter should decide to admit the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Russian trade unions. If there ever was a time when international trade-union solidarity was needed, it is now when organized labor in Britain and America can do so much to support genuine understanding among the three great powers on whose coöperation the peace of the world depends.

Spaniards in Mexico

Supporters of the Spanish Loyalist cause may have been distressed by the failure of the Spanish Cortes to hold its second session on January 19 in Mexico City. Yet the Republic-in-Exile should congratulate itself on that failure, for it had become perfectly clear that the calling of the Cortes was nothing more than a maneuver whereby Señor Martínez Barrio, a right-wing Republican, hoped to have himself elected now as head of the future Spanish state. The maneuver was defeated simply because a quorum could not be obtained, a sufficient number of deputies having realized that this abuse of the Cortes would inevitably discredit the democratic process.

Given an accession of good sense in London and a little reasonableness in Washington, Señor Negrín will shortly arrive in Mexico, at a most opportune moment. The failure of the Barrio maneuver has made it evident that Señor Negrín is now the natural leader of the work of unification. If constitutionalism is to be observed, neither the National Union at Toulouse nor the Junta de Liberación, headed by Señor Prieto, can hope to succeed where Martínez Barrio has failed. None of these groups can hope to dominate the Cortes. If it be argued that the National Union, in which the prime movers are the Communists, intends a single-handed bid for power, we can only reply that it does not seem to be so. And, though the Communists were weak in the pre-Franco Cortes, it would be fatal to ignore the National Union, which is a vigorous and valid organization. Señor Negrín has wisely declared that he will exclude no one from the work of unification who does not exclude himself. The Republican Prime Minister should issue a special invitation to the National Union and to the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement. Such a concentration of opinion is needed if Franco and fascism are to go.

The Case of Herman Powell

Herman Powell, 31-year-old Negro sentenced to life imprisonment for "murder" in an automobile accident, will be returned to Georgia to complete his sentence unless legal moves which are now under way can prevent extradition. Powell is in Essex County jail in Newark, New Jersey, where he was arrested last spring.

The case is important because Powell has been the victim of the peculiar type of "black justice" that is characteristic of some parts of the South. Court records show that in the state of Georgia it is customary to sentence to life imprisonment Negroes involved in automobile accidents causing death. Almost invariably they are tried for murder before all-white juries. In similar cases involving white men the charge is manslaughter and punishment ranges from a year or two down to a suspended sentence.

When Powell was tried after an accident near Wrightsville, Georgia, three years ago, there was no evidence to prove criminal negligence. The facts of the accident were, briefly, that the car he was driving collided with another machine on a slippery, red-clay road. It was raining at the time and visibility was poor. A white woman in the other car was killed; Powell was unconscious for three days.

Two attempts were made to lynch him, although

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before the accident he was a respected garage mechanic who had never been involved in any trouble. After his conviction he was placed in a makeshift jail with another Negro. A year later he walked away and came North. In Newark he became a hard-working employee in a packing plant and eventually his wife joined him. They were regarded as model citizens of the Negro community.

Powell's attorney, Thomas Potter of Princeton, New Jersey, says he will carry the case to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, stays have been granted on applications for writs of habeas corpus, although Governor Walter Edge of New Jersey has signed extradition papers. Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia says he cannot release Powell and that he must be brought back. Northern liberals, white and Negro, are organizing to fight for his release. The case could make history; at least it will dramatize the plight of Negroes in the South who are unjustly treated in the courts.

The GI Assault Bill

A bill was introduced in the last session of Congress making it a federal offense to assault any member of the armed services of the United States. It passed the Senate, and was favorably reported by a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, but never got any farther. That such a law is needed, all informed people are well aware. In a shockingly large number of cases, Negro soldiers have been assaulted without provocation by white civilians and severely injured or killed. Most of these instances have occurred in the Deep South, where unfortunately local public opinion is such that it is almost impossible to have the perpetrators of these crimes arrested, tried and found guilty. We do not see how the most impassioned supporter of states' rights can object to a federal law when it is the only means of punishing such a crime as cold-blooded murder. We agree with the International Labor Defense of New York City, which is working for this proposal, that the bill should be promptly reintroduced in the new session and passed.

The Navy and the Territories

The navy, like a great many other organizations, appears to be doing some postwar planning of its own. Representative W. Sterling Cole, Republican, of New York, has now introduced a bill which would turn administration of all United States territories and island possessions over to the navy. It is impossible to see what benefit the navy would derive from such a responsibility other than that a new assistant secretaryship would be created and a fairly large number of jobs would be found for officer personnel. Certainly Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, and the other territories to which the United States lays claim, would not be likely to benefit by the change. The thought of what the navy might do in solving the social and economic problems of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands is enough to make any liberal cringe.

Health Centers for the USA

The Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education, headed by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, has made an interim report advocating a system of national health centers in every community in the United States. The centers, according to the Pepper plan, which is endorsed by the United States Public Health Service, would combine preventive, diagnostic and curative care and would operate through one of four types of medical facility: small community health centers, rural hospitals, district hospitals, or large base hospitals.

The federal government would be called upon for grants-in-aid to operate the program and to assist with the initial building program. Some new form of group financing to replace the unworkable pay-as-you-go medical-care system now in use will have to be devised.

The American Medical Association has already made known in advance its objections to many points included in the report. Dr. Fishbein and his followers will certainly do everything in their power to swing the Senate against the Pepper plan. If the report is to get a fair hearing, efforts must be made to build nationwide support for the kind of health program we have needed so long.

Treaty by Majority

We heartily endorse the latest report of the Foreign Policy Association calling for immediate revision of the treaty clause of the Constitution. The necessity for abolishing the two-thirds rule for Senate approval was thoroughly discussed in the last session of Congress, as was the importance of giving the House an equal voice in treaty decisions. As the FPA report rightly points out, 1945 will be the year of decision for the United States on what we shall do about joining in a world collective-security system. We cannot afford further delay in revising treaty-making powers.

Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas has introduced a resolution providing for ratification by a simple majority vote of both Houses. Public-opinion polls have shown that the people want this kind of change. All possible pressure should be exerted to obtain passage of the Fulbright resolution now.

The IPR on Japan

The plan for the treatment of Japan just published by the Institute of Pacific Relations is a bold effort to tackle the roots of the Japanese problem. It demands the abolition of the Emperor institution, after Hirohito and the military caste have been humbled in the eyes of the Japanese people by being forced to sign the peace treaty. It demands the liquidation of the military caste and the punishment of top industrialists as

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war criminals. It promises freedom of speech and assembly, and free elections. It provides for the cession of all Japanese possessions, including the Ryukyu Islands and the Kuriles, the expropriation of any government or royal property in these areas by the Allies without compensation, and the return of all Japanese from these territories to the homeland.

Wallace's World—or Jones's

As these lines are written, the outcome of the fight over confirmation of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce is still in doubt. But win, lose or draw, it is a struggle of tremendous significance, both now and for the years to come.

The issues in this fight have been clear cut and simple, to a degree not often seen in Washington. Does the future belong to personalities and ideas like those of Jesse Jones, or those of Henry Wallace? Mr. Jones represents, so far as the plain people are concerned, a philosophy of defeat and despair. He believes we must always have large-scale poverty, recurring deep depressions. Actually, although they rarely admit this even to themselves, he and his kind *want* this sort of America; depressions do not affect them physically as to food, clothing and shelter, as millions of the poor are affected; and they believe they do better financially in a situation of successive economic peaks and valleys than they do if these are leveled out into a smoother plain of equalitarianism. It is not correct to say that these men represent the past as opposed to the future; such a statement maligns the past, in which there have been plenty of people —Thomas Jefferson for one—who had daring and imagination, and were on the side of the people. Yet Jones and his kind do represent the past in another sense, in that they do not recognize or understand what has happened in the world in the past fifty years. They are ignorant, for example, of science and technology and of both the necessities and the opportunities that these have brought about. It was characteristic of Jesse Jones that he imperiled victory in the war for the United States through his refusal to buy stockpiles of rare new metals. No doubt he has done a good job in running the RFC, in the sense that his loans show small losses. In every other way, he has done a bad job for America, through his procrastination, vacillation, failure to act effectively to keep war materials out of the hands of the enemy even though this has lengthened the war and cost many American lives.

As for Henry Wallace, there is no need at this late date to talk further about the qualities of heart and mind which have made him preëminently the leader of American liberalism today. One might note, however, that all the specific allegations made against him are false. This allegedly impractical dreamer has made an outstanding success in the field of applied genetics, producing a greatly superior type of hybrid corn and building up a handsome business based on it. As Secretary of Agriculture he successfully operated a tremendous government department and made loans of billions of dollars without having either his integrity or his efficiency seriously questioned by anyone.

Henry Wallace's plans for the Department of Commerce, as outlined before the Senate Commerce Committee, are sensible and realistic. They are based on President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights, and far from being "socialistic," are intended to reinforce and supplement the machinery of private enterprise which, in the United States as well as all over the world, shows ominous sign of breaking down. Mr. Wallace would try to help expand trade, at home and abroad; to maintain good wages and fair farm prices; to supplant slums by good housing; to encourage private industry to provide jobs for all, but to use public works when necessary to fill the gap—just as we used them for eight or nine years during the depression, with good results. The real criticism of his ideas is that they are too modest, not too sweeping.

The fight against Wallace is not and cannot be a personal fight. His record and personality in no way justify the bitterness of the attacks that have been made on him. Make no mistake about it: this is a fight against Roosevelt and the New Deal. It is a fight in favor of high profits and low wages, a fight for putting the unemployed—among whom are sure to be many returned war veterans—back on the street corners selling apples. That being so, we are entitled to take heart, no matter what may be the outcome of the present dispute over Mr. Wallace. The forces of reaction may win a battle, but they cannot win the war. The American people have learned too much to be willing to go back again to needless poverty. If the independent progressives, the trade-unionists, the enlightened farmers stand together, victory will not be long delayed.

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As the Big Three Meet

THE SECOND CONFERENCE of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt meets in the shadow of the new Russian offensive. Never before during this war, not even at the time when the delayed opening of the so-called "second front" was the strongest political bargaining weapon in Stalin's hands, did military power and success have such direct effect on the respective diplomatic positions of the three big Allies. Only an offensive on the Rhine such as seemed to be starting last week-end can offset the advantage, as far as Europe is concerned, which Russia's diplomacy has gained over that of Great Britain and the United States. Moreover, as the Soviet offensive in Europe will shorten the war against Germany and set free large Anglo-American forces for the war against Japan, Russia's diplomatic and military strength, in spite of the surprisingly rapid present campaign in the Pacific, can make itself equally felt in the Far East.

But military success is not the only source of Russia's strong diplomatic position *vis-a-vis* her Western allies. Having few illusions about the fact that the post-war world will probably be governed by the cold considerations of power politics, the Russians, while ready to maintain peace through a concert of the three great powers, are equally preparing to remain the arbiters of their own fate through a balance of power favorable to themselves. For this purpose the Russians have assembled a rich arsenal of diplomatic weapons which they can wield as circumstances require.

While Great Britain, dominated by antiquated Tory conceptions, commits blunder after blunder in Belgium, Italy and Greece, making the peoples of those countries enemies rather than friends, and while the United States either makes no headway or even loses ground, as in Latin America, because its policy is evasive, contradictory and timid, the Soviet Union in the year since Teheran has left no stone unturned to guarantee the existence of friendly governments in the neighboring countries. The armistice terms imposed on Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary were made extremely lenient, lest they serve as propaganda ammunition for the opposition to the Soviet-sponsored or Soviet-controlled governments in these countries. The governments themselves represent a new type of political organization. They are certainly not "democratic" governments. But neither are they exclusively or predominantly "communist," in composition or ideology. As a matter of fact, they include elements highly undesirable from a democratic point of view, reactionaries and even former fascists, men like Mannerheim in Finland, Generals Sanatescu and Radescu in Rumania, Colonels Gheorgieff and Veltcheff in Bulgaria, or General Miklos in Hungary.

But from Moscow's point of view the decisive test of the political reliability of these governments is not "democracy," but their willingness to coöperate with the Soviet Union. This policy may be explained partly in terms of the Kremlin's shrewd evaluation of the distribution of political power in the Soviet-controlled countries—the weakness, for instance, of the leftist movements in Rumania and Hungary, the popularity of Mannerheim in Finland, the sentimental attachment of a large sector of the Bulgarian Right to Russia as the "mother" of all Slavs, or, on the other side of the picture, the strength of the anti-Soviet parties in Poland. Moreover, while these governments are not democratic in the Western sense of the word, nor revolutionary in the Marxist definition of the term, they are socially progressive in the sense that they propose to introduce far-reaching reforms in the respective countries, such as the breaking up of the large estates in Poland, the nationalization of industrial resources and establishments in Rumania, or genuine federalization in Yugoslavia.

Russia's sphere of influence is a reality. The Soviet Union's whip over her satellites is as real as Britain's grip on Belgium, Italy and Greece is unreal. This is an important power factor at the forthcoming conference. It is a dilemma which the British must be prepared to face. Just as insistent as the Russians on having friendly governments in their sphere of influence, the British, unlike the Russians, have steadily misjudged the political situation in the countries under their military control. Instead of supporting the unquestionably strong democratic, leftist and originally pro-British resistance movements in these countries, the British, by sponsoring or supporting politically and socially reactionary or conservative forces, have alienated their real friends, who, in the dreary days after the fall of France when the British had held out alone against the Axis for more than a year, had looked on Great Britain as the sole guarantor of their liberation from fascist oppression.

The difference between Russian and British intervention in Poland and Greece, for instance, is that while Soviet intervention in Poland is certain to be carried out resolutely to Russia's advantage, British intervention in Greece is bound to fail, not only because democratic criticism at home and the possibility of a change in government will prevent the British from maintaining their present policy abroad, but also because the demand for a new social order in a country like Greece cannot be postponed indefinitely. As a recent Foreign Policy Bulletin points out, "Russia is swimming with the tide of events in Europe, while Britain is swimming against it in some areas where she

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happens to have special strategic interests." It is for this reason that Great Britain can hardly speak with the same assurance for the countries in her sphere of influence as can Russia for the nations of eastern Europe or the United States for the other nations in the Western Hemisphere.

A factor not to be underestimated in assessing Russia's diplomatic strength is the resurgence of Communist parties throughout Europe. In spite of the dissolution of the Communist International, the various national sections of the former Comintern remain bound to Moscow. An important element are the ties of personal loyalty and friendship among old-time Comintern leaders, now again in positions of authority within their respective national parties. Men like Palmiro Togliatti in Italy, Maurice Thorez in France or Wilhelm Pieck of the potentially influential Free Germany Committee have been long associated in political work and shared exile in the Soviet Union.

These leaders have acquired over the years an identical way of thinking which makes them inadvertent even if not conscious tools of Soviet foreign policy. They proceed from the simple assumption that whatever is best for the "fatherland of workers and peasants" is also best for their native countries. Though it may sound sacrilegious to the faithful party-liner, the fact that there is some sort of connection between Russian foreign policy and the political "line" of the Communist parties in western Europe is a diplomatic weapon of which both Stalin and Churchill are keenly appreciative.

The future of Germany is the iron test of the workability of the "concert of powers" after the war. The greatest danger, from Moscow's point of view, is that Germany may become a political No-Man's Land because of inter-Allied disagreement. Up to now Moscow has left the door open for whatever policy may seem most opportune at the time when a decision will have to be reached. Unless Britain and the United States advance a program which in Moscow's eyes is adequate to guarantee Russia's security against Germany, the Kremlin may be expected to take the initiative as in the past with respect to de Gaulle in France or Tito in Yugoslavia. But as Russia is hardly inclined to let the future of Germany become the cause of disagreement with her Western allies, the ground has been laid for alternative policies. And because whatever policy is decided upon in Moscow is usually an all-inclusive one, the hesitations of Great Britain and the United States can only tend to strengthen Russia's diplomatic position when the future of Germany comes up for settlement.

The German question is political dynamite because it cannot be settled by the convenient device of "sphere of influence," unless either Russia or the Anglo-American powers forgo a voice in the matter. While joint military occupation over a number of years is comparatively easy to execute, and while disarmament or joint supervision of German industries by a United Nations Commission is also possible, Germany's social and economic future is a more serious obstacle to overcome because the socialist views of Russia and the capitalist views of the Western powers are at loggerheads. Schemes such as the so-called Morgenthau Plan are, in Russian eyes, insufficient to prevent the rebirth of fascism in Germany. From the Russian point of view, the best guarantee for peace between Russia and Germany would be a friendly government in Berlin which could be counted on both to coöperate with the Soviet Union and to introduce such social and economic reforms as would make fascism impossible.

By setting up the Free Germany Committee in Moscow, composed of old Communist wheel-horses and renegade army officers, Russia has not only created a powerful propaganda weapon for psychological warfare, but also a political organization which, like the former Polish Committee of National Liberation, may be used for administrative purposes after Germany is occupied. Great Britain and the United States, on the other hand, have not yet made use of German political refugees or prisoners of war. If the Russians decide on bringing the Free Germany Committee into their zone of military occupation, the Committee will undoubtedly have great appeal value in the Anglo-American zones. Stalin, moreover, has declared himself against "destroying" Germany, as is advocated by some naïve Germanophobes in the Western countries. (This does not preclude, of course, the amputation of some of Germany's frontier regions.) He has even come out in favor of a German postwar army, on the assumption, naturally, that such an army would be closely allied with Russia. All this suggests that the Soviet government places little trust in Anglo-American ability to deal boldly and effectively with Germany.

There are other diplomatic areas in which Russia, by taking the initiative, has increased her prestige and bargaining power. She has concluded a treaty with France which, in effect, has destroyed Great Britain's hope for a security bloc of the Western and Mediterranean nations under British hegemony. By putting pressure on the government of Iran, Russian diplomacy has successfully forestalled Anglo-American domination of the Iranian oil fields. According to a recent report from Cairo, Russia's new attitude toward religion has immeasurably strengthened her influence in the Near and Middle East among the Moslem peoples of these areas. Russian newspapers during the past year have repeatedly criticized alleged attempts by certain Anglo-American circles to revive international cartels after the war. The Russian press, rigidly controlled and certainly unable to say anything without government approval, has frequently attacked the continued existence of fascism in Spain and, by inference, the Anglo-American appeasement of General Franco.

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Whatever the merits of the proposal, Russia alone is strongly in favor of the transfer of minority peoples as a means of settling Europe's perplexing population problem. Reports from Latin America indicate that Russian diplomacy has been extremely active even there.

What does it all add up to? That Russia will probably become the most powerful state in the world, powerful militarily, industrially and diplomatically. Last, but not least, Russia will be powerful because she represents, however imperfectly at present, those social forces which are now emerging everywhere in the world.

HEINZ EULAU

The British Public and Germany

ONE OF THE FAVORITE questions put to Brains Trusts (the British radio counterpart of "Information Please") is: "Why are the British so incapable of hatred and does this quality endanger their security?" The best short answer is that a disinclination to hate is a natural result of a long, comparatively quiet political growth, which has not been dominated by fear; that this quality has been one of Britain's greatest assets, and that though it is, apparently, a well established national characteristic, it may not prove permanent, if the British have in future to live as precariously as other European peoples have in the past. No one in the world is safe today, but the advantages of relative geographical security, which Britain used to enjoy, have now moved to the United States, which stands, in terms of transport hours, about as far from the great land mass of Eurasia as Britain did in the nineteenth century. In the days of Palmerston and Gladstone it was the British who played the schoolmaster to Europe: in the twentieth century (unless the rocket and the fly-bomb quickly develop more precise and more deadly qualities than seems likely), America, not Britain, will be in a position to preach sermons to the rest of the world from a bomb-proof pulpit.

Certainly the bombing of civilian populations in London and other cities has profoundly affected the British mind. The wave of hatred that swept Britain in the latter part of the last war was more artificial and ephemeral than that which moves people today. In 1916-18 it was deliberately manufactured by the press and by statesmen who feared that morale could not stand up to the continued horrors of Flanders. Today those in authority have more nearly faced national destruction than in the last war, and they are the more anxious lest the tendency to forgive should set in before an effective policy is adopted toward Germany. Second, the politically conscious working class, which were quick to make friends with the Boche soldier who had fought from much the same motives as we had ourselves, are deeply affected in this war not only by the destruction of their homes (they know that the RAF bombs Germany far more effectively), but also by a disappointed realization that the mass of Germans have, contrary to popular expectation when the war started, obeyed the most evil commands of the Führer and have been as willing to fight against Soviet Russia as against Western imperialism.

Next, there is the problem of atrocities. After the last war the American and British publics learned that many atrocities were invented (though many of course occurred, as they do in all wars), and they were disinclined to regard them as a peculiarly German characteristic. This time the Germans have fought two different wars—a comparatively "unatrocious" war in the West, and an almost inconceivably savage war in the East. On the western front such tactics as using dead bodies as booby-traps, and the habit of fighting until the last cartridge and then surrendering, as it were, with a smile and a request for a cigarette, have infuriated many of the soldiers. But these are mild aggravations of war in comparison with the tactics adopted against Slavs and Jews. Here Germany has revealed something new in warfare. We know that the extermination of the Jews by machine guns, mass hanging and gas-slaughterhouse is no invention; it is an appalling reality that means—and can only mean—that a considerable number of young Germans are instilled with the most bestial philosophy and can be trained to carry out the most appalling atrocities against people they are told are their racial inferiors. In this respect they are exactly parallel to those in the Southern United States who justify the burning of Negroes alive on the ground that they must be kept in their place. But in Germany race persecution has been organized on an immense scale. Some day the public will learn how far the Nazis have had to select the men to work the slaughterhouses of Maidanek, how many proved unwilling and were discarded, and how intensive and diabolical the methods used to produce these selected corps of human butchers—which included, incidentally, some who were not Germans. But the fact that Germans could be found in considerable numbers to do these things remains, and beats down the humanitarian and sociological arguments of those who would hope for a peace without hate.

One more factor, less apparent, but perhaps the most important of all, must be added. Serious thinkers and public servants who plan the future, realize for the first time that England must consider her position in far more realistic terms. They may or may not believe in the thesis of peculiar German wickedness; they may

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fear that other nations, in given circumstances, could be reduced to the same level of inhumanity. But they have to face the fact that German power has almost succeeded for a second time in conquering Europe and reducing Britain to slavery, and that our only hope of survival in the future lies in collaboration with the USSR, which alone offers a permanent barrier to German ambition. Therefore, they cannot desire, as they did soon after the last war—some of them even while it was still in progress—a reconciliation with any Germans who may again revive German power, and they see they must not increase the suspicions of the USSR that "tenderness" to Germany may have the long-term object of rebuilding Europe against Russia. For all these reasons the hatred of Germany today grows without the counteracting elements either from the workers or from official sources that were important in the last world war.

One important contrast still remains to be made. We British have suffered, for all our bombed cities, little in comparison with occupied countries. Hatred of Germany is of course far greater in Russia, where a quarter of the vast country has been razed to the ground. Those who return from France now agree that the French, too, hate the Germans bitterly—but with a much less excited and more cool hatred. The theme of the progressive forces in Europe (in France especially) is that the peace must be severe, but "constructive." Note that at their conference in November, French Socialists agreed that Germany must be occupied, disarmed and rendered powerless, but, they added, Germany's workers must some day again come within the comity of nations. They wanted a plan by which a re-educated Germany would form part of a future European federation. If the Communists do not say the same thing, this is probably because Moscow is suspicious of all such discussions until military victory has been secured and the danger eliminated of an anti-Soviet federation being set up during the war. Federations and "constructive solutions" sound dangerous in Moscow, until Germany is powerless.

Clearly we are once again in danger of ending the war in a mood which may damage the Allies as well as the Germans and punish the innocent along with the guilty. Responsible people are impressed with the political dangers of advocating what Russia would regard as a foolishly "soft" peace as well as with the danger of a peace whose severities would be merely silly and lead quickly to a reaction in the West. How long will it be, someone asked me the other day, "before the great sob of American motherhood again comes gulping over the Atlantic?" Those who have seen both dangers and wanted above all a peace that would have in it the seeds of an integrating and not a suicidal world felt they had scored a certain success recently when Mr. Eden, who seldom strongly opposes the current of Tory opinion, deprecated in the House of Commons discussion of whether the peace should be "hard" or "tender" and urged the country to consider how to make it effective. This was the beginning of sense and realism. Punishment, except in regard to specific "war criminals," is a puerile conception when applied to a nation. In any case the peace, if there is a peace, will necessarily be "hard" because the war will be continued on German soil; Germany's great towns are being destroyed with a ghastly thoroughness that is something never known before this war; the destruction of Germany's manpower, occupation by the conquerors—these, even apart from territorial loss and the debatable use of conscript German labor to rebuild devastated areas abroad—are enough to ensure a peace that a few years ago would have been thought hard beyond imagination. Much of this follows in any case from the nature of the war and from the reaction in Germany to "unconditional surrender"—a cry that means little and which is responsible probably for the death and mutilation for no good purpose of many thousands of young British and American soldiers. There is little any of us can do now to mitigate the horrors of the final stages of this war. What we can do is to try to keep the British and American public alive to the long-term considerations—the essentials that will outlast the passions of today.

Here are a few essentials to bear in mind in any discussion of postwar Germany:

1. Whether Germany again menaces the world's peace depends not on what is done to Germany at the end of the war when she will be helpless, but on the continued comity of the United Nations. The next generation of young Germans must know, as the young men and women of other countries know, that the very idea of their country dominating the world is an idle and wicked fantasy. If the Allies quarrel, young Germans will hope in ten years' time once more to win, and they will hope with good reason, because the West will rebuild the Rhine against Russia, and Russia will develop Silesia against the West. If on the other hand the USSR remains the ally of Britain and America, then Germany can never again be dangerous.

2. Germany can only be dangerous and rearmed if once again we sell her the arms and the materials she wants because our own armament firms find her a good market and our Foreign Office and State Department desire to see her strong.

3. There is no solution for the problem of Germany alone. You cannot permanently occupy and keep down a Great Power by carving up her territory nor by starving her people. Poland has given the world convincing enough proof of this. Nor can Europe as a whole have any decent standard of living if an effort is made to keep Germany as a starving pariah in the center of it. If the rest of Europe is built up and united, then Germany, with a Great Power to the east and Britain

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and France and America in the west, can take her place as an integral but very modest part of a European region within a world system. Short of that, there is no security.

4. We had better begin by rebuilding Europe in company with Russia on a functional basis, so that the roads and the railways and air services of Europe cannot become German and can safely be used by Germans as well as by others. The principle for Germany should be enough to eat and nothing to fight with. That means that in some form or another the heavy industry of the Rhineland and Ruhr should be taken over by an International Consortium and their output used for the repair and rebuilding of devastated countries. There are many theories of how this is to be done, some good and some bad. The essential is to realize that Europe will need everything and that the profit motive will not supply it, since Europe will not be able to pay anything for a considerable period.

5. Finally—in this short list of points, any of which is the subject for a long article or a book—let us note that after the last war we aided the reactionaries to kill the German revolutionaries, who would, if we had let them, get rid of the Junker and heavy industrialist. Let us this time reverse the process and see that our enemies are disposed of and our potential friends given a chance.

London KINGSLEY MARTIN

Have You Seen the Folk?

THERE WAS a "folk-festival" on in nearby Asheville—it had been going half the week at the civic auditorium—and a few of us went down that Saturday night to see it. In our college group were several convalescent soldiers stationed at a nearby hospital for servicemen. They had caught filariasis at a South Pacific base and were still too sick for duty, but often came out afternoons to talk to the girls and help us harvest in the fields. One of them was Morris, who had been a farmer in South Dakota. He was ill, nervous, and very shy. He had picked up in New Guinea not only the parasite that had accompanied him from the jungles to the mountains of western North Carolina, but a great fear that something had been done to his hands. As we jolted together in the bus on the way to town, and as he picked at his meat that night at dinner, I saw that his fear had become a ritual of compulsive self-examination and furtive self-assurance. He was very troubled. Over and again, almost every fifteen minutes, he would slowly press every bone in his fingers, go over each finger with eager care, and then, as the moment's assurance brought the conviction that his hands were sound, for a while, he would whistle softly and blush with pleasure.

Asheville is a mountain town, a gate to the Smokies, and a tourist and health-resort center which New York millionaires have helped to build up. It is also a center for weather research in the army and of course the Weimar of the young, ah, the lost, who look homeward to the shrine in Spruce Street over which Thomas Wolfe's mother presides. The house still keeps its boarding-house legend, "The Old Kentucky Home," and I have sometimes had the vision of Wolfe arising from the dead and crying, "Mama! For God's sake; Mama!" They are making a movie of Tom Wolfe's life—that is, they are making a movie of "Look Homeward, Angel"—and Asheville is excited. But collecting fragments of the true sufferings and death of Thomas Wolfe long ago became a minor industry in the town; even army officers stationed here collect biographical notes.

There are tobacco markets in Asheville, but the storekeepers laugh if you ask for cigarettes. You can buy Virginia Dare wine in any cigar store, but the bourbon gets smuggled in, and is outrageously expensive. Most of the hotels have been taken over by the army, and it is hard to get a meal. On a Saturday night, when Asheville fills up with soldiers and mill-workers from Swannanoa and the movies let out before midnight, the men slouch in front of the leaky neon lights pouring out of the wine shops, and there is the smell and look of banned liquor between the pop-bottles in the windows. Or else they double up on benches in the bus station to kill time before the last bus goes back to neighboring camps and the general hospital.

The folk-festival was a great success, and running high that night, the last. The m. c. was a fat and boisterous little man in a white suit who never stopped laughing and gave the impression that he was a fugitive from his office and family. The sponsors of the show had called out all the square-dance teams, Virginia Reelers, infant prodigies and strumming bands from half the valleys of Buncombe County and eastern Tennessee, and the show went on, for seven hours or more, in an unending din punctured, like the orgiastic groans on flamenco records, by the twang and drone of guitars. Yet it was an excitement in which the audience did not share. Once they propped up a seven-year-old boy in a sailor suit who whined "God Bless America" into the microphone, and then a sentimental lyric whose name I forget. The audience let out—whether in pleasure, surprise or dismay I shall never know—with the Rebel yell. But I think this came only after he broke down twice while singing "Dixie." For the most part two thousand decently dressed people sat on

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with passive politeness as all evening long fresh teams of square-dancers clattered past each other onto the pine boards that had been built out over the first rows in the orchestra. Once the program was interrupted when the m. c., in a tone of inexpressible excitement, called out that a lady from New York—from New York!—had come down all the way just for this evening: to see folk. She stood up for a bow and was briefly applauded: then the show turned into a near jive-fest.

I had gathered from the first that night that the old mountain dances had been pepped up under the drive of competition. For all I know, the square dance has always had easy ways, and its looping checkerboard matings allow as many inner variations as pleasure in life and the cider barrel afford. But since the farmers and mill-workers who make up square-dance teams and bands have had to outdo one another to rouse the tourists, square-dancing, at least as I saw it that night, has become a gelatinous shake in which anything goes. The hoopla here lay all in the violent bidding for applause: in the daring, the bends and beat-me-daddy rhythms which, as any city fool could see, had slyly crossed the old mountain lines with a familiar Broadway twist. The audience that night caught on soon enough, and fun came when, amid the clatter and screams, a couple of girls lost their shoes. From then on all was cadenzas.

Once in the evening there came on an unexpected and steely dance that brought to mind all the loneness and inner play I had associated with mountain dances. It began as if it were an intrusion. A lean, middle-aged man, with the seamed look of an old carpenter and winding black moustaches, stepped out and almost shyly began a solitary jig in a far corner. Then another man came out, following tentatively after, and at the other end of the stage reproduced and mimicked the steps of the first. Somehow his stiff middle-class costume, all dark city suit and collar and flashing watch-chain, gave a personal accent of sudden freedom to his dance that was very moving. Still another came out, and another; old men and young boys, some in sweaters and some in shirt-sleeves and suspenders; a man who might have been a high-school principal, and bobbin boys from the mills. The only link between them was the exuberant parody each performed on the other, and the weaving circle in whose center there suddenly appeared a little old woman in a shabby brown coat with a fur collar and a feather darting from her Queen Mary hat, bobbing away faster than any of them and laughing immensely to herself. It was a wonderful dance, I thought, most wonderful in that the men looked as if they were dancing *to* each other, while yet remaining stiff and even proudly aroused in their separate corners. The boards rang, the audience looked happy, and watching these mountain folk shaking off the bourgeois week on this gala night in Asheville, I thought with longing of the Russian-Jewish wedding dances of my childhood, when the men dance alone with each other in that moment when the knot has been tied, the bridal cup trodden under foot and amidst the cries of *"Mazeltov! Mazeltov!"*—"Happy Days! Good Luck!"—my tipsy and work-scarred uncles would leap from the bridal canopy and break into those brotherly festival steps into which women, for a moment, do not enter.

Morris and I had been standing for hours in the aisle, for there were no seats when we came. When he got too tired we left and had a beer. The noise in the hall, the endless blare and hard light after weeks in the hospital, had made him dizzy, and his face twitched while his fingers worked each other like knitters' needles. In the bus station he sat for a long time with his head between his legs. When I asked him if he had liked the show, he grinned politely and said it had been really fine. A Negro getting into the last bus with us was a little drunk, and a kid from one of the mills yelled at him and threw a lighted cigarette at his hair. But it missed, and people laughed, and we started for home.

ALFRED KAZIN

Music for a Scenario

Sail, Mrs. Bascomb (it is nearing five),
sail past the perfume-disinfectant gloom of Ladies' Lounge,
past rococo-modernique of plush and chrome
into the harsh electric glare of day:
the closing bliss
dissolved in newsboys' cries and clang of trolley gongs,
the lump in throat subsiding at the turnstile of the El,
but, ah, the message safe, the message safe within the heart;
the heart protected by bright song and layers of celluloid.

Forget, forget, blown fragments of some Russian children's limbs
in violated plaster ruins—a wretched thing to flash in News—
forget the ponderous words of Mr. Wallace, Mr. Welles;
dismiss from mind the agony of starved and murdered Jews.

Think it not odd that Romance should conspire to a nicety:
the young lieutenant and the nurse: pristine and chaste embrace
(with Heaven and quadruplets all implied) beneath synthetic palms:
this could have been yours too, save accident of time and place.

Serenely rest in this, the world of Noble Sacrifice and Happy End,
where gorgeous young men sink U-boats and trap Jap spies,
where Victory is won in song to bouncing jersey breasts
and Right triumphant sings its hi-de-ho's and ho-de-hi's.

And hurry, Mrs. Bascomb, back next week; return again:
there will be more cinemorphia, and you will need it then.

T/SGT. FREDERICK EBRIGHT

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Washington Notes

Wallace and Jones

WE CAN'T LET 12 million soldiers come back to apple-peddling. That's what inspired Roosevelt's October 28 "60-million job" speech at Chicago. That's what caused the Wallace appointment and precipitated the Wallace-Jones row. The issue is much bigger than Wallace, and whether he is confirmed or not it will boom over Congress, crash over the nation, for the next generation. Whatever is done now is risky, but the greatest risk of all is to do nothing—namely, keep men like Jones. Jones put it all in a nutshell himself.

He told the Senate committee with utter simplicity: "The RFC is run by business men who don't have any idea of remaking the world." Exactly. Unless we remake the world, we're sunk.

Jones is a formidable figure as he enters the first day, tall, gum-chewing, white-haired, waving casually to friendly Senators, staring down reporters, consciously swinging around to survey the crowd—a 71-year-old Texas multimillionaire with a love of power. A queer man, Jones. I have no doubt he is competent in his way. When the precious rubber stockpile burned, he couldn't see the harm at first: "It's *insured*, isn't it?" A "Jesse Jones story" has its own meaning in Washington. You don't tell it in mixed company.

What a contrast—Wallace! A modest, simple figure in a brown suit, his shock of hair for once combed and in order. You have a possessive, a protective, feeling. His prepared statement expounds the modern theory of a compensatory economy. Karl Marx would call it reactionary. The startling thing is how shocking it still sounds to Senators. But somebody has got to begin telling them; the British have accepted it; most modern economists endorse it. Chairman Bailey, however, says it just means "spending."

Wallace is a great man, and I admire him; but his public appearance sometimes leaves much to be desired. Take this one, for example, which was made to order for a dominant personality. He begins well, speaking slowly, with dignity and force. But then he speeds up, becomes, in my opinion, too informal and chatty. He is not skillful in side-stepping pitfalls and traps that are set for him. Senator Pepper feeds him a question about his financial position. The fact is, of course, that this "impractical dreamer" is a successful realist, whose hybrid seed has revolutionized corn-growing, who has made money out of it. But Wallace is self-deprecatory. Quite needlessly he drags in the story of a less fortunate newspaper venture; when he finally says his seed-corn business grossed "$4 million" last year, he drops his voice defensively, and the reporter beside me doesn't even hear him. Great men *can* be modest, but few politicians are. Yet I don't know anyone who has done more to outline the liberal theory. "For the capacity of the American way of life in the years to come," says Wallace, "is beyond the vision of man."

Roosevelt, I believe, would not have sent the Wallace nomination up if he had believed it would split the Democrats in connection with foreign affairs, or make Dumbarton Oaks harder to achieve. Sharp though the Wallace controversy is, there is no immediate sign that it is complicating the international picture. On this subject, superficially, there is accord. The "freshmen" Senators unanimously signed a statement that they favor a postwar world organization. This is helpful, and I do not mean to be cynical when I say that it is not conclusive. These statements, like the pre-1918 statements, are too general. Even Homer Capehart's name is on it. I should have felt safer, somehow, if he had objected. The storm will break *after* the Big Three meet. If any agreement is to be achieved, compromises are necessary; and every compromise is a point of attack. Applying past Senate tests to the Dumbarton Oaks formula, a reasonable guess would be that there are now about 55 Senators for ratification (41 Democrats, 14 Republicans); 21 doubtful (11 Democrats, 10 Republicans); 20 isolationist (5 Democrats, 15 Republicans). With all 96 voting (one seat is vacant through death), 33 can defeat a treaty; with a quorum (49) voting, 17 can do it. Study those figures and you will see why it is absolutely essential to have the GOP-Vandenberg group for the treaty. They are the bottleneck; they hold the whip. President Roosevelt, I understand, was particularly deferential to Senator Vandenberg at the last White House-Foreign Affairs Committee meeting.

The influence of the CIO-PAC goes on and on. It has caused, perhaps, a new chapter in American party organization. All sides suddenly see the importance of close, effective and continuing organization. The Democrats are laying 1946 plans. The CIO-PAC example also dominated the GOP Indianapolis meeting. Republicans proudly set up a full-time, streamlined organization lacking only one thing—a program. Thus, Governor Dewey advocated full employment; Senator Taft, however, says you can't get it. Chairman Brownell attacked economic isolationism; Senator Wherry, GOP whip, has just come out for high tariffs. Vandenberg urged international coöperation; the Senate GOP steering committee put isolationist Wiley on the Foreign Relations Committee. Brownell, again at Indianapolis, attacked House Democrats for favoring poll-tax Representatives. But House GOPs reaffirmed their coalition with Southern poll-taxers in reviving the Dies Committee. Incidentally, Governor Dewey, I understand, is privately expressing resentment over the way Republican leaders who called on him jealously rejected his proposed legislative program. His position is strangely like that of Willkie.

Notes.—Few observers think the work-or-fight legislation will pass. . . . Chances of effective hearings on the Murray full-employment bill grow even brighter since the Montana Senator associated Wagner, O'Mahoney and Elbert Thomas with the measure. Joe O'Mahoney, in particular, is one of the ablest spark plugs in the Senate. . . . When the South produces liberals they are first-rate; Claude Pepper, of Florida, reminds me a lot of Hugo

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Black, of Alabama; he has a peculiarly cool, impersonal and effective way of slamming opponents' heads down, and will take on anybody: isolationist Wheeler in floor debate, Jesse Jones in committee-room.

Washington T. R. B.

Crazy Over Horses

"NATIONAL VELVET" tells how a twelve-year-old butcher's daughter, Velvet Brown (Elizabeth Taylor), helped by a vagabond ex-jockey (Mickey Rooney) wins the Grand National steeplechase. It is the best thing to see at the moment, next to another very happy MGM technicolor film, "Meet Me in St. Louis." The subject is likable and unworn (at least when it is dealing with the horse, the girl and her jockey friend and not with the girl's family, which it gets at in the usual movie way), and seems unusually well suited to the screen, since it moves around a good deal in fine, breezy country and has a simple story structure built around one thrilling event, which usually makes for a stronger job than the more snarled plots do.

Pandro Berman, the producer, and Clarence Brown, the director, have made it into a conservatively exciting and engaging film whose chief virtue is its acting, especially a letter-perfect, beautifully felt performance by Mickey Rooney as the jockey. Miss Taylor seemed to me vaporous, though beautiful, either because she is actually a negative screen personality or is made to seem so alongside a particularly virile, smart group of actors, which includes Rooney, Anne Revere and Donald Crisp (who are her parents), a thin-skinned red horse, which appears to be running faster than any horse I've ever seen in the movies, and the child, Jackie Jenkins, who still seems cut off from this civilization and has been wisely left (as Margaret O'Brien and Skippy Homeier have not been) more child than actor.

In the traditional MGM manner, the writing and directing of "National Velvet" seldom tighten onto any of its events objectively or analytically, but stay at a safe level of making everybody and everything indefinitely pleasant, comic or happy. It is typical of MGM's lack of daring that the relationship between Velvet and her jockey friend, which is one of the more interesting in current movies, is left untouched while the film spends endless time building up your knowledge of what funny, corny things happen in the Brown family. The thing I miss most in the picture is a loving, interested appraisal of the year's training of the race horse; but that is probably the kind of information MGM would feel was too specialized for mass appeal.

This generalized treatment can be especially provoking when it shifts your eye from the center of an event to the edge, where you either can't see it (for instance, a lot of Velvet's rides over the countryside and Rooney's doctoring of the horse), or it is too poor a view to matter, as at the steeplechase, where the film hardly gets in sight of Velvet and her horse. At rare moments the movie turns objectively on a fact and usually comes up with something extraordinary. There is a drunk scene played by Rooney that is actually bewitching (and one of the best scenes I ever saw) because of its marvelous timing and use of hands, voice and eyes. The credits are also recorded against a poetic scene of Rooney walking along an English road that seemed to me, for the realism of Rooney's walking and the good setting and music, more bona-fide than almost anything that followed it. Then there is a breathtaking moment during a raffle when Crisp manhandles a heckler and is given a chance to be hard and grim, which he can be as effectively as anybody I know of in films.

There are three unusual things in the script. The mother is made a good deal more wise, contented with her ideas and condescending toward the errors of the rest of the family than you'll probably care to see. She is more unbearable than her MGM type usually is, because not only does the film consider her an ideal mother, but she is played with the kind of purposefulness, besides great talent, which seems to mean that Miss Revere also believes seriously in the character's goodness. Velvet's love for horses is written past the usual insipid movie point for such childhood fanaticism and is made to seem, sometimes painfully, like the real thing. Not only does she make you wonder uncomfortably what her motives are when she says she wants to be "the greatest rider in the world," but her favorite pastime is galloping over the countryside as though she were riding a horse and doing some more galloping in bed before going to sleep. Her passion seemed to me at all times more real than Bernadette's. I was rather taken with the moral of the story, which encourages you to be all for "breathtaking folly."

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Our soldiers and sailors . . . are fighting to maintain the right of a free ballot. Back them up by paying your poll tax at once and qualifying as a voter in 1945. – *From The El Paso Times.*

Spain's champion talker, Frederico Garcia Sanchiz, delivered a two-hour-and-15-minute address last night in defense of wearing hats.

"We must not make stupid concessions to the advances of insidious communism," he said, "nor leave the field to low instincts of the equalizing mass which revolts against signs and symbols of personal distinction." – *AP dispatch from Madrid.*

DOCTOR SEES HOPE
FOR SINGLE GIRLS
She Points to Advantages of
Not Having a Husband—
More Time for Bath Salts

– *Head and subhead in The New York Times.*

Total-War Department

The White House referred to the War Department today a complaint that a flag was displayed in an unlawful manner at the inauguration last Saturday. The protest was made by Gridley Adams, chairman of the National Flag Code Committee. He wrote Mr. Roosevelt that the flag was "disgraced" when it was placed below the speaker's stand. Adams quoted a law stating that when the flag is displayed flat it should be above and behind the speaker. – *From The New York Herald Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Morale in the Pacific

SIR: New Republic readers may be interested in seeing this excerpt from a letter of a friend of mine who is serving as an army nurse in the Philippines.

New York City H. E.

[Enclosure]

It is heartbreaking to see these men who have been away from home two to three years with no promise of returning soon. Enlisted men or officers, well ones or sick ones, have only one thought—when may I go home? It is almost as if they were isolated from the war—even the ones who fight hand-to-hand battles. They are in it, but not part of it. They live in a letter from the farm, or dream of Coca Cola. And their hearts are torn wide open by foolish women at home who do not know how they feel, who write letters full of jealousy, hypocrisy, dishonesty, cruelty, selfishness—who will never guess the value of a gentle word, or the cruelty of stirring up emotional conflicts at such a time.

A Program for Progressives

SIR: I have been wanting to tell you that The New Republic's special supplement (November 27) on prosperity and how to achieve it, is especially swell. We have had many piecemeal statements of faith in the future of America. We have had some general statements, like those of Henry Wallace, that carry conviction. But I don't know of any grouping of such statements, each from its own angle, that sums up to one general declaration, in the fashion of yours. It is the total effect, an effect of affirmation, that gives it power.

Liberals, perforce, have had to spend so much of their energy lately attacking the forces of reaction that little is left for development of positive leadership in their own cause. Yet without positive programs, presented with persuasive force, liberals cannot get much of anywhere. Your supplement lays the groundwork for such a program.

Cambridge, Mass. ROBERT BORDNER

Russel Wright's China

SIR: I believe Manny Farber's diatribe in the November 20 issue against Russel Wright's dinnerware is quite uncalled for. . . .

For Mr. Farber's sake, let me state a few specifications for dinnerware that a believer in modern design would require: 1. She doesn't want to eat off flowers, birds, French peasants or other decorations, but desires the food itself to furnish the design. Therefore she wants a solid-color plate in a color which will not detract from the food. 2. She desires each dish to perform its function in the best manner possible. A cream pitcher with a real spout that pours well without spilling cream all over the table cloth. (The pitcher in the Rockwell Kent set is one of the worst offenders in this respect.) A plate large enough to hold several varieties of food without their running into each other. 3. She wants dinnerware easy to clean and maintain. No flutings, cracks or curleycues for food to lodge in. No fragile pedestals on pitchers, cups, etc., to knock against each other and break in the dishpan. 4. Surveys show that the believers in modern design are mostly young people without large incomes. Therefore their dinnerware must be moderately priced. I challenge Mr. Farber to name any dinnerware except Russel Wright's that meets these four minimum specifications.

Most of the qualities of Wright dinnerware which Mr. Farber criticizes are the very qualities which appeal to modern enthusiasts. Its lack of any extraneous elements give it an honesty and simplicity of line that are refreshing. Wright's dishes have probably fewer angles and more curves than any I've seen, and it's hard to believe that anyone could find their flowing lines cold, hard or static. I don't know quite what Mr. Farber means by "chi-chi color," but it has been my experience that a strong color, not too harsh, sets off food in a more eye-appealing manner than the usual whites and wishy-washy pastels. Put cauliflower on a Russel Wright brown plate, or scrambled eggs on Wright blue-green, and compare the effect with that of the same food on a weak-colored plate. . . .

Mr. Farber's allusions to principles of design are vague enough to make one suspect he is using them as derogatory innuendo without foundation in reality. . . .

Valpariso, Fla. ANN L. BICK

A Book about Debs

SIR: I am working on a biographical novel built around the life and times of Eugene V. Debs, and am eager to see letters, papers and documents in the possession of his friends. I am also anxious to hear all authentic stories, anecdotes and experiences of those who knew and worked with Debs. Since I plan to do portraits of such men as Daniel De Leon, Samuel Gompers, Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, Robert G. Ingersoll, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, Bill Nye and Debs's many other associates between 1875 and 1925, I would appreciate information on them as well.

All letters and papers will be returned safely.

Box 236, Encino, Calif. IRVING STONE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Bertram Lippman, of New York City, objects to Walter Rae's article, "The Conscientious Objector" [The New Republic, January 8], on the ground that CO's, not satisfied with being "excused from fighting or killing . . . want to be acknowledged as *morally superior*." Affording CO's a chance to participate in "morally superior works, like 'social service' and 'relief and rehabilitation'," is, in Mr. Lippman's opinion, giving them an unfair advantage over servicemen, who have no opportunity to choose what kind of service they may give.

Dr. Henry Neuman, leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, although agreeing with Alvin H. Hansen's criticism of Hayek's "Road to Serfdom" (The New Republic, January 1), feels that "more than one ex-socialist in America is now in favor of getting 'results' by violence."

A navy man in training in Texas writes: "One of the most important mail calls is the one which brings this unreconstructed civilian his weekly issue of The New Republic. It took 'boot camp' to teach me that the comics are predominantly adult fare —not just for children!"

The formation of a new organization in the field of social welfare was recently announced. The National Health and Welfare Retirement Association, Inc., is a non-profit corporation created to extend retirement pensions and life-insurance coverage to approximately 500,000 workers in private, social, health and welfare agencies who are not now covered by federal social security.

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Books in Review

The Two Henry Jameses

THERE IS a debate among the readers and critics of Henry James, between those who admire or at least concede the virtues of his early stories, but hold that his later work shows a rootlessness, a snobbishness, an unreality that might well be explained by his divorce from American life; and those who believe, on the other hand, that the long novels he wrote when he was turning sixty, "The Ambassadors," "The Wings of the Dove" and "The Golden Bowl," are the high and frosty summits of American fiction. It is a debate that has continued for more than forty years, even though William Dean Howells tried hard to end it, in 1903, when he wrote his dialogue on "Mr. Henry James's Later Work"; he spoke of course for the devoted Jacobites. In 1905 William Crary Brownell answered Howells in a longer essay that expressed his adverse moral judgments and his distinguished lack of comprehension. Van Wyck Brooks succeeded Brownell as the leader of the anti-Jacobite faction, the Whig gentry. The simple thesis he advanced in "The Pilgrimage of Henry James" (1925) and still more forcefully in "New England: Indian Summer" was that James's later novels could not be so good as the early ones because he had lived too long in England: "In this alien world, with which his relations were so tenuous, he drifted further and further from life itself." That was for some years the accepted opinion, in the years when James wasn't being read, although it was combated by Matthew Josephson in his "Portrait of the Artist as American" (1930) and roundly denied by Stephen Spender, who said in effect, in "The Destructive Element" (1936), that James was the central writer of our time.

"Henry James: The Major Phase,"[1] by F. O. Matthiessen, might be approached as merely another episode in these Jacobite wars; but it has at least one great advantage over the earlier forays and incursions. It is better armed; it is equipped with new evidence. Recently James's working notebooks from 1878 to 1914, in which he recorded his intimate thoughts and the slow growth of his novels, were presented by his nephew and namesake to the Houghton Library at Harvard. Mr. Matthiessen, with Kenneth B. Murdock, is now preparing them for publication. He quotes from them extensively in the present volume; and they show that James himself regarded his later work as more ambitious than anything attempted in the past.

They also show that the year 1895 was the turning point in his career. Feeling that his novels would never be popular, he had been writing a succession of plays—to make money, as he flatly said, but also in the effort to overcome a sense of solitude that weighed him down. He seems to have resembled one of his characters—Mortimer Marshal in "The Papers"—to the extent of nursing a secret: "that to be inspired, to work with effect, he had to feel he was appreciated, to have it all somehow come back to him." Not much came back of the effort he put into his plays. One of them, a dramatized version of his novel, "The American," had been indifferently received in London after a mild success in the English provinces. Four others had been printed without being produced. A sixth, "Guy Domville," closed in London after thirty-one performances that earned $1,100 for the author, as he wrote his brother William; there had been many worse failures on the stage. But the first night of "Guy Domville"—January 5, 1895—had been worse than a failure; it was an international scandal. Some of the well dressed people in the stalls approved of the play and cried, "Author, author!" The crowd in the gallery hated it and bore a grudge against the producer on this and older counts. When the author appeared before the curtain, they greeted him with hoots and jeers and roars—James wrote to his brother—"like those of a cage of beasts at some infernal 'zoo'." All the newspapers in London and New York carried the story of how the uproar continued for fifteen minutes while the author stood there cowering under the storm.

Deeply humiliated, so that he could never bear to be reminded of that night, James abandoned his writing for the stage; and he also abandoned, for all practical purposes, his attempt to win a larger public. It is true that he would later publish several stories described by him as "shameless potboilers"—including one great story, "The Turn of the Screw," but also including others that were genteelly romantic in the tone of the popular magazines and almost as mechanical in plot as if they had been signed by O. Henry. For the most part, however, his next years would be devoted to the sort of work he regarded simply as "the best." He wrote in his notebook just after the great fiasco:

> I take up my *own* old pen again—the pen of all my old unforgettable efforts and sacred struggles. To myself—today—I need say no more. Large and full and high the future still opens. It is now indeed that I may do the work of my life. And I will.

A month passed and he felt more confident:

> I have my head, thank God, full of visions. One has never too many—one has never enough. Ah, just to let oneself go—at last; to surrender oneself to what through all the long years one has (quite heroically, I think) hoped for and waited for—the mere potential and relative increase of quantity in the material act—act of appreciation and production. One has prayed and hoped and waited, in a word, to be able to work *more*. And now, toward the end, it seems, within its limits, to have come. That is all I ask. Nothing else in the world. I bow down to Fate, equally in submission and in gratitude.

"The potential and relative increase of quantity in the material act" was still to be delayed, but not for long. During the first five years that Henry James spent in the little town of Rye, from 1898 to 1903, he produced a volume of work that was unprecedented even in his own generally fruitful career. He wrote two short novels, "The Awkward Age" and "The Sacred Fount"; two big col-

[1] Henry James: The Major Phase, by F. O. Matthiessen. New York: The Oxford University Press. 206 pages. $2.50.

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lections of stories, "The Soft Side" and "The Better Sort"; and a two-volume life of the American sculptor, William Wetmore Story, besides his three longest and most elaborate novels. Nobody should doubt, after rereading them, that they are his best novels too. Mr. Matthiessen has every right to describe this period in James's life as "the major phase."

In his critical essay, each of the three great novels receives a chapter of outline and analysis, in the light of James's working notes, and each is assigned its rank. Mr. Matthiessen has many reservations about "The Golden Bowl" and a few about "The Ambassadors"; he believes that "The Wings of the Dove" is James's masterpiece, "that single work where his characteristic emotional vibration seems deepest." "The Ivory Tower," which also receives a chapter, might possibly have been as good, he says, if James had lived to finish it. There is an introductory chapter, extremely interesting, on "the art of reflection" that James applied to all his work; and there is a long appendix analyzing the changes James made in "The Portrait of a Lady" twenty-five years after its first appearance, when he was preparing the New York Edition of his collected works. Simple in structure and temperate in expression, "Henry James: The Major Phase" is almost a model of the critical monograph.

There is, however, one fault or omission to be noted that does not greatly affect the quality of the book, but that does have a bearing on the debate about Henry James. Mr. Matthiessen has not so much answered the arguments of the anti-Jacobites as he has introduced totally different arguments. Almost everything he says about the later James is true, but it is not quite the whole story. A great deal that Van Wyck Brooks says about him is also essentially true, even though overstated at times and written in the style of a highly cultured prosecuting attorney. It is true, for example, that James's later novels are rather thin in subject matter, considering their length and enormous elaboration. It is true that they reveal an ignorance of America and, even more strikingly, an ignorance of European life outside the international set. And it is true that they are novels about adultery (or something close to it, in "The Wings of the Dove") that show a curious want of passion, almost as if James had written "War and Peace" without the battle scenes.

James himself, in the little book on Hawthorne that he wrote in 1879, gave us a sort of license to prefer his early work. He praised "The Scarlet Letter" in terms that might be applied to the first version of "The Portrait of a Lady." Coming first among Hawthorne's novels, he said, it was simpler and more complete than the others. "It achieves," he continued, "more perfectly what it attempts, and has about it that charm, very hard to express, which we find in an artist's work the first time he has touched his highest mark—a sort of straightness and naturalness of execution, an unconsciousness of his public, and freshness of interest in his theme." James also admired "The Scarlet Letter" for its style. "It is admirably written," he said. "Hawthorne afterwards polished his style to a still higher degree, but in his later productions—it is almost always the case in a writer's later productions—there is a touch of mannerism. In 'The Scarlet Letter' there is a high degree of polish, and at the same time a charming freshness; his phrase is less conscious of itself."

James's phrase, in his later novels, is extremely conscious of itself, and that is by no means its only fault. With its endless sentences dotted thickly with commas, it gives the impression of being both long-winded and short-breathed, as if the author were panting while he climbed an interminable flight of steps. He says in one of his prefaces, "This, amusingly enough, is what, on the evidence before us, I seem critically, as I say, to gather," and we feel that his words are uttered in little gasps. Most of them, in the sentence just quoted, add hardly a shade to the meaning he is trying to convey. Sometimes his famous density is little more than verbosity, and the reader feels himself to be fumbling for ideas, with sticky fingers, in a tub of very old hen-feathers.

Mr. Matthiessen believes that James's revisions in the New York Edition were generally an improvement over his early style; but after reading the discussion carefully I am not so sure that I agree with him. Some of his retouches made the characters more vivid and others introduced effective figures of speech. There were many changes, however, that merely complicated the style. When Madame Merle faces her former lover, in the first version of "The Portrait of a Lady," she says to him, "How do bad people end? You have made me bad." In the revised version she says, "How do bad people end?—especially as to their *common* crimes. You have made me as bad as yourself." That is more definite, if a little harder to grasp; but it lacks the classical finality of the original statement. In his revisions, James was proud of the way he handled the "he said—she said" problem. But why should it be a problem at all? Why not, like Hemingway, write "he said" and "she said" whenever they are necessary for the sense, instead of looking for elegant variations? The later James was obsessed with finding elegant variations: "she returned," "he just hung fire," "she gaily engaged," and it reminds you of reading a play with too many stage directions.

But the worst feature of James's later style is the inversions that are most noticeable in very short phrases. "Will that so much matter?" he says, instead of, "Will that matter so much?" Very often he forces the verb to the end of the sentence, as in German. He writes: "Maud a little more dryly said"—"Had he had time a little more to try his case"—"What in the world's that but what I shall be just *not* doing?"—"But what are they either, poor things, to do?"—"I suppose that's what I horribly mean"—"I'll go to him then now"—"He wonderfully smiled"—"Certainly, darling, we must talk it well over." English is becoming more and more an uninflected language like Chinese, in which the function of words is shown chiefly by their position in the phrase. To change that position arbitrarily; to write, "We must talk it well over," instead of "over well," or, "He wonderfully smiled," instead of "smiled wonderfully" (and what does "wonderfully" mean in that connection: "for a wonder"?—"wonderingly"?—"in a wonderfully pleasant fashion"?) is to violate the spirit of the language as shaped by all the living and dead millions who speak or have spoken it. Not only is it a symbol of James's separation from the public; it directly expresses and, in a real sense, it *is* that separation.

The anti-Jacobites are right to say that James's later work shows the bad results of exile and expatriation; but they explain his problem in much too simple terms. James was not merely, as they believe, expatriated in the sense

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AMERICA'S PLAN TO FREE ALL COLONIES

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What will *you* turn to first in this month's MERCURY? *Pegler: Tough Guy Columnist* is a profile in acid of a writer who doesn't let his police-court reporter's mind stop him from posing as an oracle on national and world affairs. *Life in Spain Today* is a graphic description of surface glitter and inner sordidness in a land seething with intrigue. In *A Mercury Survey of Opinion Leaders* publicist Edward L. Bernays makes ten important predictions for postwar America, based on a survey of leaders whose views have correctly foreshadowed popular opinion. *Ship Workers in the Northwest* unveils a shocking picture of workers loafing at the very time frantic advertisements appeal for more ship workers to bolster lagging production. *Hope for Alcoholics* is the encouraging story of New York's experiment with alcoholics—a treatment that seems actually to work . . . Seven other arresting articles, essays and sketches enrich the pages of the February MERCURY—plus such regular features as *Down To Earth* by noted naturalist-writer Alan Devoe, *The Theatre* by George Jean Nathan, Fiction, Poetry, Books, Cartoon, Open Forum.

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of making his home in England. He was self-exiled from England too, until the First World War; he spent most of his life in the world of creation. He wrote in his notebook: "To live *in* the world of creation—to get into it and stay in it—to frequent it and haunt it—to *think* intensely and fruitfully—to woo combinations and inspirations into being by a depth and continuity of attention and meditation—this is the only thing." It was the only thing that James really desired; and it explains the great virtues of his later novels as well as their vices. The virtues and the vices were interrelated and intermingled. In order to become a great novelist, he made himself purely a spectator of life; he denied himself the luxury of holding opinions "even on the Dreyfus case," as he said; and thereby he lost his sense of participation in life and the sort of understanding gained by those who act on their opinions. In the pursuit of combinations and inspirations, he divorced himself from the public, and the divorce made him feel, "well, blighted to the root." At the same time, however, the liberty gained through being unpopular helped him to create independent and self-sustaining works of art. In his "major phase," to follow Matthiessen, or in his decadent period, to rephrase Brooks, there are not two Henry Jameses, one of them a hero in the world of creation, the other a fussy old snob in a fawn-colored vest. There is one Henry James who must be accepted in his strength and weakness.

If we accept him so, the strength far outweighs the weakness. What we remember in his later novels is not their narrowness or their awkward style, but rather their rare quality of self-dependent life. James said in his preface to "Roderick Hudson" that the novelist's subject was like the painter's: it consisted in "the related state, to each other, of certain figures and things." His emphasis falls on the word "related"; and we note that everything in his later novels exists, develops, declines, is extinguished or transformed, *in relation* to something else in the book—not in relation to something outside, to the reader's supposed knowledge of historical incidents or social forces. Everything is bathed in the same consciousness as in some transparent medium; the characters move like swimmers seen from below in utterly clear water. The whole pattern they form, in its complexity, possesses and keeps an inner balance like that of a painting or a symphony; and that explains the permanence of his novels. Their subject matter is not only limited, but in many cases it is fatally out of fashion: for example we feel that Lambert Strether's late discovery of life in Paris, in "The Ambassadors," was not so much tragic as pathetic. There is no longer the contrast that James described at such length, between the innocent American and the sophisticated European. In these days, however, when innocent and direct Europeans are likely to be confronted with cynical Americans; when the moral standards of New York are in some ways more lax than those of Paris; when the millionaire and the nobleman have lost the high position that James assigned to them in his novels—even now, the best of those novels have an inner life that illuminates the life about us and will continue to illuminate our children's lives.

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Old America Hand

The Vigil of a Nation, by Lin Yutang. New York: The John Day Company. 272 pages. $2.75.

THERE WAS A TIME when Lin Yutang was accepted by Americans as an urbane and wisely tolerant philosopher, so bland and graceful in his manner, so smilingly ironical in his cool objectivity, that his verdicts on the comparative civilization of East and West made all of us feel wistfully that our poor Occidental culture was brash and a trifle childish in comparison with his age-old Oriental wisdom. It is true that on their home grounds other Chinese intellectuals expressed a less ecstatic opinion of the author of "My Country and My People," but we were inclined to accept that as a shabby jealousy. Then Dr. Lin wrote "Between Tears and Laughter."

It can hardly be said that this somewhat hysterical book destroyed the American picture of the Urbane Philosopher, but it did cause a bit of surprise and even a shock. Some of the reviewers and even members of the general public, particularly those who were not aware of the not altogether flattering picture of Dr. Lin held by his fellow countrymen, were quite startled to find the kindly Doctor behaving in a manner said to be more characteristic of British fishwives than of Peking scholars. Even the author admits in his new work that there was "howling and screaming" in "Between Tears and Laughter." Somehow it seemed to cut him down to the level of the Western bathtub civilization he so scorns.

Now, in "The Vigil of a Nation," which is the report of one of Dr. Lin's brief and infrequent trips to his war-torn country, made just about a year ago, he appears to be trying for a good deal of the time to regain his status as a whim-

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sical character. His account of his journey through seven provinces, with his meditations thereon, has much of the grace, attractive writing and rather arch charm so characteristic of his earlier work. With all its undoubted literary merits, however, this portion of "The Vigil of a Nation" remains of mild and distinctly secondary concern; a series of amiable little interludes while the author is warming up for another violent foray into politics. It is these political sections that give the work its interest and in them our old friend, the Urbane Philosopher, has disappeared forever.

What offends Dr. Lin so deeply is that he feels that his country is being traduced and its war effort sneered at by a sinister conspiracy of the Chinese Communists, aided and abetted by American correspondents and other alien observers who are either the dupes or the willing agents of the Reds. He feels that the growing criticism of the Kuomintang is the result of some sort of concerted effort of forces opposed to the Chinese party in power and that it has been turned on at will in what he seems to regard as a deliberate plan to deceive the outside world.

It is his firm conviction that the Kuomintang, under the inspired leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, is determined both to fight the Japanese to the end and to initiate, as soon as war conditions will permit, a liberal democratic government in China. He believes that its valiant efforts to win the war and establish a progressive popular government are being thwarted by evil and murderous Communists who are plotting to establish a savage totalitarian regime that would wreck Chinese liberty and bring about a rule of death and destruction. He is convinced that all threats of civil war and all the clashes between Kuomintang and Communists are to be charged to the Reds of Yenan and that even when it comes to guerrilla warfare it is only the Chungking forces that have been fighting the Japs. He feels that only America's shocking neglect of the chances to arm the Central Government armies has kept the Chinese from being a great offensive military force.

Although Lin Yutang's violence as a controversialist is less effective than his more persuasive earlier manner, there is no denying that, if his contentions and his charges are justified, there is every reason for him to lose his temper. If his country is the victim of the sort of malicious conspiracy which he insists upon, then such treatment does deserve to be denounced with even greater bitterness than the great man manages to muster, and particularly grave is the offense of the American correspondent who would help in spreading such libelous tales. It happens, though, that Dr. Lin's strictures cannot be accepted so readily as all that.

In the first place, it is not just a clear-cut issue between Lin Yutang, a great and patriotic Chinese who knows and loves his country, on one side, and a lot of ignorant or malicious American newspapermen, who are either dupes or agents of the Communists and know nothing of China, on the other. There is, on the contrary, reason to believe that the able and conscientious correspondents, both American and British, who represent the foreign press in China, are not only more objective in their attitude toward the country than the Doctor but have seen a great deal more of it in recent years. Few corps of newspapermen anywhere have worked more conscientiously than the men and women covering wartime China, and in no country where

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—HEINZ EULAU, *The New Republic*

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I have watched the foreign correspondents in action has it been so clear that they were genuinely devoted to the land they are observing professionally.

It is not possible to dismiss so lightly as does Dr. Lin the unanimous opinion of the experienced reporters who have not only spent more time in wartime China than he has but have likewise visited and observed the districts controlled by the Yenan regime. Furthermore, there have been innumerable other observers, military, missionary and civil, who have recently visited this once sealed Communist territory, and their testimony comes close to being unanimous. They are convinced that the Communists really are fighting the Japs, that they represent a fresh, constructive and progressive force which has the popular support of the people, that they have brought progressive and forward-looking government to the districts which they control, that they are sincerely interested in a unified, democratic China and that they were by no means tools in the hands of Moscow.

It was the considered opinion of these non-Communist observers that the Chinese Communist regime is concerned with beating the Japanese enemy—it should be remembered that it was in great part due to them that China fought back against Japan in the first place—and in constructing a modern democratic state, not in any wild attempt to collectivize the land and communize the people. Even Dr. Lin seems to admit a great deal of this when he says: "The Communists are democratic only in the sense that they have always theoretically stood for the rights of the peasants and labor, that they are ahead of Chungking in organizing the people for self-government, that they have workers' unions, peasants' unions, that they stand for the peasants against the landlords and have reduced the interest on loans." This somehow seems no mean step in advance in the current state of China.

No one is likely to dispute Dr. Lin when he pays tribute to the determination with which China has held out for so many years against Japanese aggression and to the courage and heroic hardihood of the Chinese common soldier, any more than one can disagree when he, as a humane man, laments the shocking treatment that the common soldier usually receives from his leaders. When, however, Dr. Lin suggests that all the Chinese armies need is American equipment, he is overlooking the fact that greater innovations than the mere supplying of adequate equipment are needed if the Chinese army is to be made into an effective fighting force on anything more than the present limited scale. One such innovation would be a coalition government.

It strikes me, too, that this is a pretty late date for Dr. Lin to try to persuade anyone that Chen Li-fu and Ho Ying-chin are not, in any sense of the word, "reactionaries." It might be noted, also, that when the good Doctor indicates that it is just Red propaganda that blames the Central Government for blockading the Communist areas, he seems to be including some pretty sound military opinion amid the party-line propagandists. Particularly is he to be disputed when he suggests that the correspondents have some party line to sell, for, as he says in an early section of his book: "These press correspondents and other observers on China are horrifying; you cannot catch them on a single factual error." It is Dr. Lin who has the bill of goods to sell and I do not think he is the expert salesman he used to be.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

A Reader's List

PLANNING: No. 228. British Documentary Films (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). PEP's latest broadsheet examines briefly the potentialities of the documentary movie. The pamphlet is in effect a summary of the Nuffield College Reconstruction Survey report on the state of the arts in Britain. It is interesting to note that visual film reportage began in a purely commercial venture no more than two decades ago. In 1929 the Empire Marketing Board employed the documentary in an effort to stimulate intra-empire buying. Various British firms soon adopted the device as a striking means of strengthening public relations. During the war, says PEP, the documentary has been turned into "a powerful aid to the workings of democracy." The pamphlet, which also reviews significant changes in filming and distribution, stresses the need for a definitive policy to foster the documentary's maximum development. The broadsheet concludes with a short and incisive précis of the essential points of the new Beveridge employment study and of the Oxford Institute's symposium on full employment.

Contributors

KINGSLEY MARTIN has been, since 1931, the editor of The New Statesman and Nation, to which he contributes a London Diary. His most recent book is "The Magic of Monarchy."

T/SGT. FREDERICK EBRIGHT has returned to the United States from the Aleutians area, where he spent more than a year with the Army Air Forces. His work has been included in Oscar Williams' anthology, "New Poems: 1944," and has also appeared in The Nation, The Atlantic Monthly, The Commonweal, The Virginia Quarterly Review and other magazines.

RICHARD WATTS JR., former dramatic critic of The New York Herald Tribune, has also done foreign correspondence for that paper in the Far East, Russia and Spain. He headed the Office of War Information in Dublin in 1942-43 and has just resigned as editor-in-chief of the same organization in China, where he spent a year. It was his sixth trip to China since 1935.

UNIQUE JOB OPEN

MARCH 1st, 1945, curatorship of Walt Whitman's house in Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey. Owned by city; maintained by State; contains famous collection of Whitmaniana. Curator under civil service, starts at $1,200 with living quarters in house. Applicant accepted only on recommendation of advisory board. Since its creation in 1920 this job has been held successively by a newspaper man, a poet, a former schoolteacher (and husband). Write promptly to Box 575, Whitman Memorial Committee, c/o. The New Republic, citing this ad.

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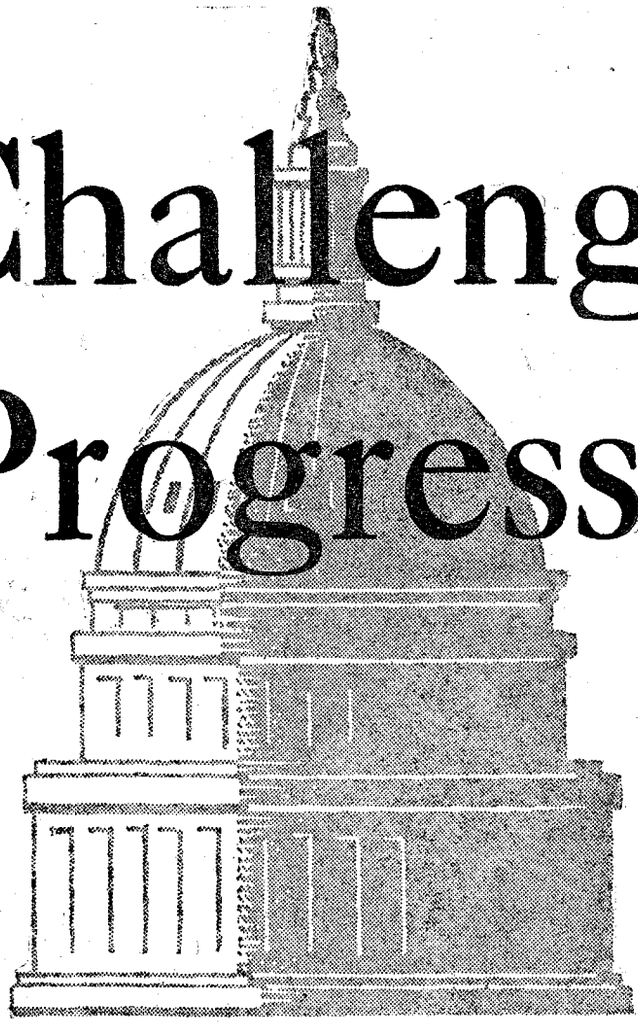
Challenge to Progressives



A Special Section

by James G. Patton *and* James Loeb Jr.

With an 8-page chart, compiled by the Union for Democratic Action, which completes the voting record of the 78th Congress on all vital issues and gives the margin of victory in the last election of all present members of Senate and House

THE NEW REPUBLIC

February 5, 1945

In two parts: Part Two

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We Call a Bloc-head a Bloc-head!

Agriculture Has A Liberal Paper

The National Union Farmer, official publication of the National Farmers Union, has in the past year grown from a small membership paper to 226,000 circulation, including many thousands of non-members who want to know the People's side of the farm situation.

It is the able journalistic aide in Jim Patton's crusade for the National Farmers Union objectives; family-type farming, security of the farm family on the land, and an economy of abundance, with *full* production and *full* employment.

Edited by Benton J. Stong, whose daily paper was cited for meritorious public service by Dean Ackerman of Columbia in Harlan County labor disputes a few years ago, its staff includes four outstanding writers: Paul Sifton, playwright and former New York World associate Sunday editor; Russell Smith, former Washington Post editorial writer; Roscoe Fleming, former Scripps-Howard and national magazine writer; and Gladys Talbott Edwards, Farmers Union educational director.

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The Challenge to Progressives

by

James G. Patton[1]
(President, National Farmers' Union)

James Loeb Jr.[1]
(Director, Union for Democratic Action)

NOVEMBER 7, 1944, marked the end of an era in American political history; November 8 began a new era. The period that ended was the Roosevelt era; the period that began cannot be so easily titled, except perhaps as the post-Roosevelt era. It may seem ironic in the extreme to suggest that the reëlection of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency of the United States for four more years marked the conclusion of the Roosevelt political era. The irony demands some explanation.

For four successive national elections Franklin D. Roosevelt has been the one great unifying force among American progressives. He has been a one-man political machine. His name on the ballot has carried to victory countless candidates for federal, state and local offices who could never have won on their own strength. Divergent political tendencies within his own party, rival labor groups, scattered and unorganized farmers, independent progressives of widely differing ideologies, all have found common ground at least once every four years—as long as the Roosevelt name was on the ballot. And, barring unforeseen circumstances, the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt will never again be on the ballot.

This is not to suggest that Mr. Roosevelt will not wield enormous political influence during the next four years, as President, Commander-in-Chief, and leader of the Democratic Party. Indeed, his influence will undoubtedly extend beyond his term of office. But the results of the off-year elections of 1938 and 1942 prove that that influence can only be exercised at its maximum strength when Mr. Roosevelt himself heads the ticket. Few would maintain that any other liberal, even with Mr. Roosevelt's fullest endorsement and support, could have won in 1944, or even that Mr. Roosevelt himself could have won without the overriding issue of the war and the natural tendency of any electorate to continue in office an administration that was successfully prosecuting a global war.

During the next four years, the President can do much to promote a progressive political climate in America. His success in that direction will depend on the policies he pursues, the nature of the problems that will confront this nation both at home and abroad, the wisdom of the strategy followed by American progressives and the organizational vigor with which that strategy is pursued. But in all important political battles ahead, progressives must realize that they will no longer have the electoral magic of the Roosevelt name. They have lost the enormous asset they have had for the past twelve years.

From now on, in other words, progressives are on their own. They must find within themselves the intelligence to analyze the social forces at work in America and in the world, and to offer plausible solutions for the problems that must be met. Most important of all, they must find the organizational techniques and methods with which their suggested solutions can be brought to the American people with some chance of acceptance.

During this last national campaign, groups of independent and progressive citizens came together in thousands of American communities to act together in terms of the election issues: the reëlection of President Roosevelt and the election of a progressive Congress. In these groups individuals participated who never before had manifested the slightest interest in what they had been educated to believe was the "dirty business of politics." Most of them liked their experience. As a result, all over the country since the election these people have come together again to try to think through the whole problem of "Where do we go from here?" They are looking for ways and means of continuing the kind of crusade which they started in the election campaign. Their enthusiasm must not be dissipated, but rather channeled into constructive political activities which can bring the results they desire: a stable and free America in a peaceful world.

But it is essential that a course, however flexible, be charted before organizational and programmatic patterns are set. Most liberals believe in some form of flexible planning; politics must be thought through and planned as carefully as economics or international relationships. As the Seventy-ninth Congress convenes and the fourth term gets under way, the pages that follow are a modest effort to suggest a course for American progressives, not in a doctrinaire manner, since all sectarian dogmas have traditionally failed in American politics, but rather pragmatically, on the basis of an analysis of American society and recent American history.

[1] The authors have written as individuals; their conclusions do not necessarily represent the opinions of all the members of the organizations they head. – THE EDITORS

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Program Notes

WE DO NOT PROPOSE to offer a point-by-point program for liberals. In the main, liberals know pretty much what they are for and what they are against. The Union for Democratic Action has its program. So has the National Farmers' Union. So have the labor organizations, and the various other progressive groups. The New Republic included a "Platform for Progressives" in its supplement of May 8 of last year, and a general economic program in its November supplement. These programs differ here and there, but rarely are there points in one that would be seriously offensive to the others. On most of the great basic issues liberals are able to achieve a considerable degree of unity. Indeed, the great promises of American life, mainly charted in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and the ways of keeping those promises, afford a basic program on which liberals have always agreed. There is even general agreement on most specific legislative issues. A bill to abolish the poll tax, or for expanded social security, or for a Missouri Valley Authority, invariably finds united support among progressives.

What is needed by progressives at this point is not so much the reformulation of immediate objectives as a far greater grasp of the magnitude of the foreign and domestic problems, a greater imagination in proposing solutions to meet them, and action to promote their adoption. The kind of thing that can inspire united progressive action must be something fundamental, sweeping and bold, not proposals that are the mechanical gestures of minds so accustomed to fighting on old lines that they can no longer bring a lift to the spirit. What is needed is a verve and a zest that will make into modern realities those magnificent phrases of the Bill of Rights.

To illustrate concretely what is implied in all this, we take one example, the "full-employment" bill originally put forward last summer by the National Farmers' Union, embodied in slightly different form last month in the final report of the Senate War Contracts Subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator Murray, and since formally offered in the Senate. This suggested legislation centers attention upon the crucial ailment that needs to be cured, and prescribes comprehensive treatment. Because we believe this proposal to be the most imaginative yet made for postwar America, we emphasize it here as a beginning of a far-reaching program for progressives.

The distinguishing feature of our economy has been the business cycle, recurring so-called "surpluses" and chronic mass unemployment. The ups and downs of economic activity are the determining factor in the well-being of most of our people. Since our economy depends so largely upon the willingness of owners of capital to invest in ventures that offer prospective profit, the cyclical phenomenon is probably the most important single aspect of that economy. The great importance of such investment to the maintenance of the economy as a going concern has been shown by Simon Kuznets and Alvin Hansen, among others. Indeed, some of these experts believe that over a period of years a fairly fixed ratio obtains between the amount of money going into new investment and construction, and the amount of national income or of total production of goods and services.

It appears clear that a certain definite proportionate amount of such investment is indispensable if there is not to be a falling off of business activity. Thus, the indispensable preliminary to permanent full employment would seem to be the removal of the fear of the business cycle. We must banish the banshee of "inevitable" boom-and-bust, feast or famine. This could be done in various ways, some of which are obviously statism in its worst form and would ultimately mean fascism. Others are compatible with and will promote the essentials of genuine democracy and opportunity.

The way to end the fear of depression that brings on depression itself must be a democratic way if it is to meet the needs of the American people.

Such thinking went into the proposal that the government underwrite permanent full employment. The assumption is that whatever the action such legislation authorizes, it must be action that (1) uses the national power to end depressions, (2) strengthens free enterprise in its true and original sense, (3) spreads benefits among all the people. Thus, the proposal is for legislation that will assure business, labor and agriculture that whenever the rate of private investment falls off, the government is prepared to take up the load; that its investment should be sound, needed, carefully devised works and services that will benefit all the people; and finally that it will be a continuing, standing policy of this nation that it will *always* act in this way to avert depressions.

The economic climate that such an assurance would produce would be something new in history. The guarantees proposed would by no means solve all our economic problems. There would still be the problems of monopoly, of taxation and idle savings, of inequitable wages, of security on the land, of under-skilled and under-educated people. And many other problems. But the one major problem of severe depressions would be largely resolved, and this would give our country a minimal stability within which we could find the time and the energy to solve the other problems.

It is this kind of bold planning that progressives are going to need in the years ahead. Our air-age economy must maintain altitude and speed to avoid crack-up.

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The Record of The House[1]

	District	6/14/44 Dirksen Amendment to OPA Bill	6/22/44 Exempting Insurance from Anti-Trust Laws	9/18/44 Travel Pay for War Workers	9/18/44 Unemployment Insurance for Federal Workers	12/ 5/44 Social Security Freeze	1/ 3/45 Permanent Dies Committee	Recapitulation of 18 Votes on Bills Recorded in Supplement of May 8, 1944 +	−	O	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
ALABAMA												
(D) Andrews	3	−	−	−	−	−	−				3	25
Boykin	1	−	O	O	O	−	−	6	7	5		
Grant	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	7	10	1		
Hobbs	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	7	8	3	5	22
Jarman	6	+	−	−	−	−	+	7	7	4		
Manasco	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	8	9	1	1	25
Patrick	9						+				3	32
[Newsome, D] 2		−	−	−	−	−		5	11	2		
Rains	5						+				1	27
[Starnes, D] 3		−	O	−	−	−		8	8	2		
Sparkman	8	+	−	−	−	O	+	9	7	2		
ARIZONA												
(D) Harless	At Large	O	O	+	+	+	O	13	2	3	50	124
Murdock	At Large	+	O	+	+	+	+	16	1	1	49	128
ARKANSAS												
(D) Cravens	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..		
Gathings	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	6	12	..	16	28
Harris	7	+	−	−	−	−	+	9	8	1		
Hays	5	+	−	O	O	−	+	14	3	1		
Mills	2	O	O	−	−	−	−	9	9	..	4	29
Morrell	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..		
Trimble	3						O				12	18
[Fulbright, D] 4		O	−	+	−	−		11	6	1		
CALIFORNIA												
(D) Douglas	14						+				4	127
[Ford, D] 5		O	O	+	+	O		15	..	3		
Doyle	18						+				19	171
[W. Johnson, R]		−	−	O	O	O		4	14	..		
(D) Elliott	10	+	−	O	O	−	−	3	11	4		
Engle	2	−	−	O	O	−	+	4	2		21	76
Havenner	4						+				1	147
[Rolph, R]		−	−	+	+	−		6	11	1		
Healy	13						+				12	122
[Poulson, R]		+	−	+	+	−		6	11	1		
(D) Holifield	19	+	+	+	+	O	+	17	..	1	40	92
Izac	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	..	2	16	157
King	17	+	+	O	+	+	+	16	..	2		
Lea	1	−	−	+	+	−	+	8	7	3		
Miller	6						+				8	201
[Carter, R]		−	O	O	O	−		6	9	3		
(D) Outland	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	18	..	..	11	93
Patterson	16						+				16	196
[Rogers, D]6								14	3	1		
Sheppard	21	O	−	O	O	O	+	9	6	3	14	83
Tolan	7	−	−	+	+	O	+	9	3	6	22	141
Voorhis	12	+	+	+	+	+	+	18	..	..	15	140
(R) Anderson	8	−	−	+	+	−	−	5	11	2	22	167
Gearhart	9	−	−	−	−	O	−	3	14	1		
Hinshaw	20	+	−	−	+	O	−	4	12	2	12	217
Johnson, J. L.	3	+	−	+	−	−	+	7	10	1		
McDonough	15						+				27	177
[Costello, D] 7		−	−	−	−	O		8	7	3		
Phillips	22	−	O	O	O	−	−	5	12	1		
Welch	5	+	−	O	O	+	+	9	5	4		
COLORADO												
(R) Chenoweth	3	−	−	−	−	O	O	3	14	1	16	123
Gillespie	1	−	O	−	+	−	−				7	174
Hill	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	12	2	34	134
Rockwell	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	15	63
CONNECTICUT												
(D) Geelan	3						+				5	160
[Compton, R]		−	O	−	−	O		6	9	3		
(D) Kopplemann	1						+				18	222
[Miller, R]		+	−	+	+	−		10	8	..		
(D) Ryter	At Large						+				26	826
[Monkiewicz, R]		+	−	−	−	−		6	12	..		
(D) Woodhouse	2						+				3	123
[McWilliams, R]		−	−	−	−	−		4	13	1		
(R) Luce	4	+	−	+	+	O	+	7	7	4	2	205
Talbot	5	+	−	−	+	−	−	4	13	1	5	115
DELAWARE												
(D) Traynor	At Large						+				1	126
[Willey, R]		−	−	O	O	−		3	14	1		
FLORIDA												
(D) Cannon	4	−	O	−	−	O	−	5	5	8	17	58
Hendricks	5	−	−	O	O	O	−	8	8	2	26	49
Peterson	1	−	O	+	+	−	−	8	8	2		
Price	2	O	−	−	−	−	−	11	7	..	15	60
Rogers	6						−				3	31
[Green, D] 8		−	O	+	+	O		4	8	6		
Sikes	3	−	−	O	O	O	O	8	8	2	8	68
GEORGIA												
(D) Brown	10	+	−	−	−	−	−	8	10	..		
Camp	4	+	−	−	−	+	−	8	10	..		
Cox	2	−	O	−	−	−	−	7	10	1	8	22
Gibson	8	O	O	O	O	−	−	6	10	2	10	27
Pace	3	+	+	−	−	−	−	8	8	2		
Peterson	1	O	O	−	−	−	−	8	9	1	7	24
Ramspeck	5	+	−	+	+	+	+	9	6	3		

[1] The symbol + indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol — indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* are tabulated —; those for, or announced *for* +. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated O. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress. Numbers after names of Representatives designate Congressional Districts.

Recapitulation of votes is based on 18 roll calls in the UDA-New Republic supplement of May 8, 1944. The 18 bills are listed at the beginning of the analyses of House and Senate votes on pages 194 and 196.

The last two columns, indicating the margin of victory and total vote cast in thousands, are election results, except in the following Southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas and South Carolina, where primary results are used.

Names appearing in brackets have been replaced in the Seventy-ninth Congress. In all cases, except where otherwise indicated by footnotes, they were defeated in the November elections. In districts in which there were more than two candidates, the margin of victory is the plurality, not the majority. No figures are given where there was no significant opposition.

2 Newsome defeated in primary.
3 Starnes defeated in primary.
4 Fulbright not a candidate; nominated and elected Senator.
5 Ford not a candidate.
6 Vacancy in 78th Congress; Rogers resigned.
7 Costello defeated in primary.
8 Green (previously elected at large) not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for nomination as Governor.

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District		1 Dirksen Amendment to OPA Bill 6/14/44	2 Exempting Insurance from Anti-Trust Laws 6/22/44	3 Travel Pay for War Workers 9/18/44	4 Unemployment Insurance for Federal Workers 9/18/44	5 Social Security Freeze 12/ 5/44	6 Permanent Dies Committee 1/ 3/45	Recapitulation of Previous Votes +	−	O	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
(D) Tarver	7	−	+	−	−	+	+	8	9	1		
Vinson	6	+	O	−	O	−	+	7	10	1		
Wood	9						−				4	25
[Whelchel, D]	9		O	−	−	−	O	6	8	4		
IDAHO												
(D) White	1	+	+	−	+	−	−	9	4	5	12	88
(R) Dworshak	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	6	118
ILLINOIS												
(D) Dawson	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	13	1	4	17	69
Douglas	At Large						+					
[Day, R]		−	−	+	+	−		4	14	..		
(D) Gordon	8	+	−	+	+	+	+	15	2	1	29	50
Gorski	4	+	−	+	+	+	+	14	2	2	60	99
Kelly	3										12	306
[Busbey, R]		−	−	O	O	O	+	4	14	..		
(D) Link	7						+				44	479
[Schuetz, D]	10											
O'Brien	6	+	−	+	+	+	+	14	3	1	71	351
Price	22						+				3	164
[C. Johnson, R]		−	−	−	−	−		4	13	1		
(D) Resa	9						+				6	116
[Dewey, R]		−	−	−	−	−		4	13	1		
(D) Rowan	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	2	2	48	325
Sabath	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	26	50
(R) Allen	13	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	12	2	34	85
Arends	17	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	26	79
Bishop	25	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..	8	108
Chiperfield	15	−	O	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	18	98
Church	10	−	−		−	−	−	4	14	..	40	348
Dirksen	16	−	O	−	−	O	+	4	13	1	22	119
Heidinger	24	−	O	−	−	−	O	3	12	3	12	74
Howell	21	−	−	O	−	−	−	5	13	..	13	113
Johnson	14	−	O	−	−	−	−	2	16	..	9	103
Mason	12	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	31	141
McMillen	19			−	−	−	−				15	127
Reed	11	−	O	−	−	−	−	2	16	..	63	193
Simpson	20	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	8	70
Sumner	18	+	−	−	−	−	O	1	17	..	14	103
Vursell	23	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	10	104
INDIANA												
(D) Ludlow	11	O	−	+	+	−	+	12	6	..	6	223
Madden	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	17	1	..	29	123
(R) Gillie	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	27	135
Grant	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	7	165
Halleck	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	12	3	30	127
Harness	5	−	−	−	−	O	−	3	13	2	14	178
Johnson	6	−	−	−	+	−	−	6	10	2	15	137
La Follette	8	+	+	+	+	O	+	8	10	..	7	162
Landis	7	−	O	−	−	−	−	6	11	1	11	136
Springer	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	15	152
Wilson	9	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	13	113
IOWA												
(R) Cunningham	5	−	−	−	+	−	−	7	11	..	10	122
Dolliver	6						−				18	102
[Gilchrist, R]	11	−	−	O	O	−		7	11	..		
Gwynne	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	18	132
Hoeven	8	−	O	−	−	−	−	8	10	..	13	104
Jensen	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	25	109
LeCompte	4	+	−	O	O	−	−	6	10	2	11	109
Martin	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	12	2	19	139
Talle	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	12	1	18	155
KANSAS												
(R) Carlson	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	12	2	31	95
Cole	1						−				37	106

9 Whelchel not a candidate.
10 Vacancy in 78th Congress; Schuetz deceased.
11 Gilchrist defeated in primary.

District		1 Dirksen Amendment to OPA Bill 6/14/44	2 Exempting Insurance from Anti-Trust Laws 6/22/44	3 Travel Pay for War Workers 9/18/44	4 Unemployment Insurance for Federal Workers 9/18/44	5 Social Security Freeze 12/ 5/44	6 Permanent Dies Committee 1/ 3/45	Recapitulation of Previous Votes +	−	O	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
[Lambertson, R]	12	−	O	O	O	O		1	17	..		
Hope	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..	40	105
Rees	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	26	154
Scrivner	2	−	−	−	−	−	−		5		21	116
Winter	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	11	5	18	87
KENTUCKY												
(D) Bates	8	+	O	O	O	+	+	13	5	..	8	90
Chapman	6	+	−	−	−	−	O	8	8	2	19	108
Chelf	4						+				8	89
[Carrier, R]		−	O	O	O	−			6			
(D) Clements	2						+				15	101
[Vincent, D]	13	+	−	−	−	−		10	7	1		
(D) Gregory	1	+	−	−	−	−	+	9	9	..	39	74
May	7	O	−	−	−	−	−	3	13	2	3	64
O'Neal	3	+	−	O	O	−	+	11	5	2	21	139
Spence	5	+	−	+	+	+	+	15	2	1	13	78
(R) Robsion	9	−	−	O	O	−	O	4	12	2	33	100
LOUISIANA												
(D) Allen	8	−	−	−	+	−	−	10	8	..		
Brooks	4	−	−	O	O	O	O	11	7	..	12	18
Domengeaux	3					O	−	5	7	6	13	21
Hebert	1	−	O	−	−	−	−	7	4	7	21	35
Larcade	7	−	−	−	+	−	−	11	6	1	9	27
Maloney	2	+	−	−	+	O	−	9	5	4	15	35
McKenzie	5	−	−	O	O	−	−	5	9	4		
Morrison	6	−	−	+	+	+	−	8	7	3	4	38
MAINE												
(R) Fellows	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	26	46
Hale	1	+	O	−	+	−	O	5	13	..	26	69
Smith	2	+	−	+	+	+	+	6	11	1	24	69
MARYLAND												
(D) Baldwin	2	+	−	−	−	−	O	5	9	4	24	171
D'Alesandro	3	+	−	−	+	−	−	14	2	2	18	46
Fallon	4						−				15	80
[Ellison, R]		+	−	+	+	O		12	6	..		
(D) Roe	1						−				1	60
[Ward, D]	14	+	−	−	−	O		9	8	1		
Sasscer	5	+	−	−	+	−	−	13	4	1	23	79
(R) Beall	6	−	−	−	+	−	−	5	11	2	17	109
MASSACHUSETTS												
(D) Curley	11	+	−	+	+	−	+	11	4	3	36	115
Lane	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	13	2	3	41	115
McCormack	12	+	−	+	+	+	+	14	2	2	66	129
Philbin	3	−	−	+	+	−	−	10	5	3	30	128
(R) Bates	6	+	−	−	−	−	−	5	11	2	44	130
Clason	2	−	−	O	O	−	−	3	12	3	15	136
Gifford	9	−	O	O	O	−	−	3	12	3	22	130
Goodwin	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	21	139
Herter	10	+	−	−	+	−	+	7	11	..	30	130
Heselton	1						+				1	126
[Treadway, R]	15	−	O	O	O	O		2	9	7		
Holmes	4	+	−	−	−	−	+	4	10	4	15	137
Martin	14	−	−	−	+	−	−	5	13	..	31	129
Rogers	5	−	−	O	O	−	−	3	15	..	69	149
Wigglesworth	13	+	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..	47	147
MICHIGAN												
(D) Dingell	15	+	+	+	+	+	O	16	1	1	44	158
Hook	12						+				1	82
[Bennett, R]		−	−	O	O	−		8	9	1		
(D) Lesinski	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	17	1	..	36	155
O'Brien	13	+	+	+	+	O	+	13	5	..	22	139
Rabaut	14	O	O	+	+	+	+	15	3	..	23	176

12 Lambertson defeated in primary.
13 Vincent not a candidate.
14 Ward defeated in primary.
15 Treadway not a candidate.

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	District	1 Dirksen Amendment to OPA Bill 6/14/44	2 Exempting Insurance from Anti-Trust Laws 6/22/44	3 Travel Pay for War Workers 9/18/44	4 Unemployment Insurance for Federal Workers 9/18/44	5 Social Security Freeze 12/ 5/44	6 Permanent Dies Committee 1/ 3/45	Recapitulation of Previous Votes +	−	O	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
Sadowski	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	17	..	1	79	129
(R) Blackney	6	+	−	O	O	−	O	6	12	..	17	158
Bradley	11	−	O	−	−	−	−	1	11	6	15	80
Crawford	8	+	−	−	−	−	O	2	13	3	40	112
Dondero	17	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	28	206
Engel	9	+	−	−	+	+	+	6	10	2	23	90
Hoffman	4	−	O	−	−	−	−	..	16	2	30	106
Jonkman	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	20	126
Michener	2	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	37	124
Shafer	3	−	−	−	+	−	−	2	14	2	30	127
Wolcott	7	+	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	39	121
Woodruff	10	−	O	−	−	−	−	..	17	1	25	83
MINNESOTA												
(D) Gallagher	3						+				3	141
[Gale, R]		+	−	O	O	+		7	10	1		
(D) Starkey	4						+				5	124
[Maas, R]		−	−	−	−	−		2	13	3		
(R) Andersen	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	8	9	1	36	114
Andresen	1	−	−	−	O	−	−	5	13	..	29	126
Hagen 16	9	−	O	O	O	−	+	11	7	..	18	98
Judd	5	+	−	O	O	−	−	7	10	1	19	145
Knutson	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	..	18	..	37	118
O'Hara	2	−	−	−	+	−	−	2	15	1	62	121
Pittenger	8	−	−	−	+	−	−	7	10	1	4	121
MISSISSIPPI												
(D) Abernethy	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	10	8	..	6	7
Colmer	6	−	−	−	+	−	−	6	10	2		
McGehee	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	6	10	2		
Rankin	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	9	9	..	9	14
Whitten	2	O	O	−	−	−	−	10	7	1	8	16
Whittington	3	+	−	−	−	−	+	9	9	..		
Winstead	5	−	−	−	−	O	−	10	8	..		
MISSOURI												
(D) Bell	4	O	−	O	O	O	−	4	8	6	15	106
Cannon	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	11	7	..	6	95
Carnahan	8						+				1	107
[Elmer, R]		−	O	−	−	−		3	12	3		
(D) Cochran	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	..	11		
(D) Slaughter	5	−	−	O	O	−	O	7	11	..	5	101
Sullivan	11						+				21	118
[Miller, R]		−	−	−	−	−		5	12	1		
(D) Zimmerman	10	+	−	−	−	−	O	13	5	..	13	97
(R) Arnold	1	O	O	−	−	−	+	4	14	..	2	102
Bennett	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..	18	126
Cole	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	6	12	..	1	122
Ploeser	12	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	8	228
Short	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	16	1	33	119
Schwabe	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	12	1	3	121
MONTANA												
(D) Mansfield	1	+	−	−	+	O	+	16	2	..	31	84
O'Connor *	2	O	O	O	+	+	+	15	2	1	10	113
NEBRASKA												
(R) Buffett	2	−	−	O	−	−	−	3	15	..	25	132
Curtis	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	57	144
Miller	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	11	2	38	115
Stefan	3	−	−	O	O	−	−	7	11	..	50	123
NEVADA												
(D) Bunker	At Large						+				14	52
[Sullivan, D]	17	+	−	O	O	−		14	4	..		
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
(R) Adams	2						−				9	103
[Stearns, R]	18	O	−	+	+	−		5	10	3		
Merrow	1	O	−	−	−	−	+	4	14	..	2	113

16 Farmer-Labor member of last Congress, re-elected as a Republican.
* O'Connor died in January, 1945. 17 Sullivan defeated in primary.
18 Stearns not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for Senate nomination.

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NEW JERSEY												
(D) Hart	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	1	3	33	125
Norton	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	12	1	5	51	128
(R) Auchincloss	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	20	41
Canfield	8	+	−	−	+	−	+	10	8	..	22	129
Case	6						+				19	152
[McLean, R]	19	+	O	O	O	O		3	13	2		
Eaton	5	−	−	−	+	−	−	4	13	1	26	149
Hand	2						+				8	94
[Wene, D]	20	+	+	+	+	O		13	4	1		
(R) Hartley	10	−	−	O	O	O	−	7	9	2	8	117
Kean	12	+	−	−	−	−	+	6	11	1	5	134
Powers	4	−	−	−	+	−	−	9	9	..	14	123
Sundstrom	11	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	6	113
Thomas	7	−	−	−	−	O	−	2	11	4	42	131
Towe	9	−	−	−	+	−	+	7	11	..	40	148
Wolverton	1	+	−	+	+	O	+	9	9	..	2	174
NEW MEXICO												
(D) Anderson	At Large	+	+	+	+	+	+	11	5	2	19	152
Fernandez	At Large	−	−	−	+	−	+	12	4	2	24	147
NEW YORK												
(D) Barry	4	+	−	+	O	+	+	11	4	3	8	138
Bloom	20	+	−	+	+	+	+	16	2	..	52	124
Buckley	25	+	−	+	+	−	+	14	..	4	64	184
Byrne	32	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	1	3	22	149
Celler	15	+	+	+	+	−	+	14	3	1	81	131
Delaney, James	21	6					+				15	147
Delaney, John	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	31	117
Dickstein	19	+	+	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	44	95
[Capozzoli, D]	22	O	+	+	+	+		17	..	1		
[Fay, D]	22	O	+	+	+	+		15	1	2		
[Klein, D]	22	O	O	+	O	+		17	..	1		
Heffernan	11	+	−	+	+	+	+	14	..	4	46	145
Keogh	9	+	−	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	29	114
Lynch	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	1	1	94	159
O'Toole	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	13	..	5	28	135
Pfeifer	8	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	3	1	18	93
Powell	23	22					+				21	162
Quinn	26						+					
[Fitzpatrick, D]	24	+	+	O	O	+		17	..	1		
Rabin	25	24					+				84	121
Rayfiel	26	14					+				53	147
Roe	27	5					+				14	166
[Merritt, D]	28	+	O	+	+	+		16	1	1		
Rogers	40						+				2	179
[O'Brien, R]		+	−	O	O	−		3	13	2		
(D) Rooney	12		+	+	+	+	+				9	93
Somers	10	+	+	+	+	+	O	16	1	1	42	136
Torrens	21	+	+	+	+	+	+				51	132
(R) Andrews	42	+	O	−	−	−	−	5	10	3	21	146
[Stanley, R]	29	+	−	−	+	O		4	13	1		
Baldwin	17	+	−	−	+	+	+	9	5	4	19	147
Bennet	30	29					+				8	133
[Fish, R]		−	O	−	+	−		4	10	4		
Buck	16		−	−	−	−	O				7	104
[Burchill, D]	31	+	+	+	+	+		15	1	2		

19 McLean not a candidate.
20 Wene not a candidate; defeated for Senator.
21 New Congressional district.
22 Capozzoli, Klein and Fay not candidates through elimination of their Congressional districts.
23 New Congressional district.
24 Fitzpatrick not a candidate.
25 New Congressional district.
26 New Congressional district.
27 New Congressional district.
28 Merritt not a candidate; at large in previous Congress.
29 Stanley not a candidate; at large in previous Congress.
30 Bennet elected on Democratic, American Labor, Good Government and Liberal tickets, will sit as Republican in House of Representatives.
31 Burchill not a candidate.

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		1	2	3	4	5	6					
(R) Butler	44	−	O	−	−	−	O	6	12	..	1	145
Cole	39	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	10	3	45	111
Elsaesser	43						−				3	146
[Mruk, R] 32		−	O	+	+	O		10	8	..		
Fuller	35	−	O	−	−	−	−	1	4	1	6	126
[Douglas, R] 33		−	O	O	O	−		2	10	6		
Gamble	28	+	−	−	−	−	−	3	11	4	43	138
Gwinn 34	27						−				35	146
Hall (E. A.)	37	−	−	−	+	−	−	5	13	..	42	109
Hall (L. W.)	2	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	70	194
Hancock	36	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	10	150
Kearney	31	+	O	−	+	−	−	6	6	6	28	142
Kilburn	34	+	−	−	−	−	−	3	13	2	31	120
Latham 35	3						O				38	178
Le Fevre	30	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	10	4	36	140
Reed	45	−	−	−	−	−	−	..	18	..	28	101
Sharp 36	1						O				52	132
Taber	38	+	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	39	115
Taylor	33	+	−	−	+	−	+	5	11	2	43	152
Wadsworth	41	+	−	−	−	O	−	3	12	3	30	114
(ALP) Marcantonio	18	+	+	+	+	+	+	18	..	..		
[Kennedy, D] 37		+	+	O	O	O		14	..	4		
NORTH CAROLINA												
(D) Barden	3	−	O	−	−	−	O	7	6	5	18	43
Bonner	1	+	−	−	−	−	+	12	6	..	27	33
Bulwinkle	11	+	−	−	−	O	+	12	6	..	20	63
Burgin	8	+	−	O	O	O	+	11	5	2	16	81
Clark	7	+	+	O	O	O	O	9	7	2	21	50
Cooley	4	−	−	−	−	O	+	12	6	..	35	71
Doughton	9	+	−	−	−	−	−	9	7	2	15	86
Durham	6	−	−	−	−	−	+	8	9	1	30	69
Ervin	10						+				35	77
[Morrison, D] 38		O	O	−	−	+		12	2	4		
Folger	5	+	+	−	+	−	+	15	2	1	21	65
Kerr	2	+	−	−	−	−	+	10	6	2	33	86
Weaver	12	+	−	O	O	−	+	13	5	..	23	81
NORTH DAKOTA												
(R) Lemke 39	At Large	O	O	+	+	+	+	8	8	2	44	170
Robertson	At Large						−				35	170
[Burdick, R] 40		O	O	+	+	+		16	1	1		
OHIO												
(D) Crosser	21	+	O	+	+	+	+	17	..	1	55	100
Feighan	20	+	+	+	+	+	+	17	..	1	51	99
Gardner	3						+				10	198
[Jeffrey, R]		−	−	−	+	−		6	12	..		
(D) Huber	14						+				3	223
[Rowe, R]		+	−	+	+	−		4	13	1		
(D) Kirwan	19	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	..	2	51	190
Thom	16						+				10	163
[Carson, R]		−	−	−	−	−		3	15	..		
(R) Bender	At Large	+	−	+	+	−	+	11	7	..	180	2905
Bolton	22	+	−	O	O	−	+	8	10	..	48	323
Brehm	11	−	−	O	O	−	O	3	12	3	5	71
Brown	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	32	137
Clevenger	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	17	..	26	71
Elston	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..	20	145
Griffiths	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	16	..	16	79
Hess	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	12	1	17	140

32 Mruk defeated in primary.
33 Douglas defeated in primary.
34 New Congressional district.
35 New Congressional district.
36 New Congressional district.
37 Kennedy defeated in primary.
38 Morrison not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for Senate nomination.
39 Total vote cast is approximate, since both North Dakota Representatives are elected at large.
40 Burdick, unsuccessful candidate for Senate nomination, then unsuccessful candidate for House as Independent.

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		1	2	3	4	5	6					
Jenkins	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	20	67
Jones	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	16	1	25	111
Lewis	18	O	O	+	+	−	+	6	12	..	3	129
McCowen	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	3	87
McGregor	17	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	30	116
Ramey	9	+	−	+	+	−	+	7	10	1	5	169
Smith	8	−	−	−	−	−	O	..	17	1	17	86
Vorys	12	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	15	180
Weichel	13	−	−	−	−	−	O	3	13	2		
OKLAHOMA												
(D) Boren	4	O	O	−	−	−	+	4	11	3		
Johnson	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	13	5	..		
Monroney	5	+	−	−	+	+	+	12	3	3	17	37
Stewart	3	O	O	−	−	−	−	7	10	1	7	46
Stigler	2	−	−	−	−	−	−					
Wickersham	7	+	−	−	+	+	−	11	7	..	9	26
(R) Rizley	8	−	−	O	O	−	O	1	17	..		
Schwabe	1						−				3	12
[Disney, D] 41		−	O	−	−	−		3	13	2		
OREGON												
(R) Angell	3	−	−	+	+	−	−	10	8	..	18	173
Ellsworth	4	−	−	O	O	−	−	6	12	..	23	83
Mott	1	−	−	−	+	−	−	4	14	..	40	120
Stockman	2	−	−	O	O	O	+	4	12	2	21	66
PENNSYLVANIA												
(D) Barrett	1						+				21	125
[Gallagher, R]		O	O	O	+	−		4	12	2		
(D) Bradley	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	1	1	23	139
[Pratt, R] 42		+	O	−	+	−		2				
(D) Eberharter	32	+	O	+	+	+	+	13	1	4	51	117
Flood	11						+				6	138
[Miller, R]		−	−	−	−	−		5	12	1		
(D) Granahan 43	2						+				40	155
Green	5						+				12	138
[Pracht, R]			O	−	+	−		6	10	2		
(D) Hoch	13	+	−	+	+	+	+	16	2	..	10	80
Kelley	27	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	1	1	20	102
McGlinchey	6						+				2	154
[Myers, D] 44		+	+	+	+	+		15	1	2		
[Scott, R] 45		−	O	−	+	O		6	11	1		
(D) Morgan	24						+				21	84
[Furlong, D] 46		+	O	O	O	O		15	..	3		
Murphy	10	+	−	+	+	+	+				13	105
Sheridan	4	−	O	+	+	O	+	5	1	12	39	121
Snyder	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	15	..	3	8	32
Walter	20	+	−	+	+	−	+	11	5	2	13	90
Weiss	33	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	1	3	42	109
(R) Brumbaugh	22	−	−	−	−	O	−		3	2	14	86
Campbell 47	29						−				1	126
Corbett	30						−				4	117
[Scanlon, D]		+	+	+	+	+		16	1	1		
(R) Fenton	12	−	−	−	+	−	−	5	12	1	16	116
[Troutman, R] 48		−	−	−	−	−		6	12	..		
(R) Fulton	31						O				10	132
[Wright, D]		+	−	+	+	+		18	..	..		
(R) Gavin	19	−	O	−	−	−	O	4	14	..	22	78
Gerlach	8	−	−	−	+	−	+	4	13	1	16	103
Gillette	14	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	24	79
Graham	25	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	1	122

41 Disney not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for Senate nomination.
42 Under new apportionment, two members of 78th Congress from same Congressional district; Pratt elected January 18, 1944.
43 New Congressional district.
44 Myers not a candidate; successful candidate for Senate.
45 Under new apportionment, two members of 78th Congress from same district.
46 Furlong defeated in the primary.
47 New Congressional district.
48 Troutman, at large in previous Congress, not a candidate.

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	District	6/14/44 1	6/22/44 2	9/18/44 3	9/18/44 4	12/ 5/44 5	1/ 3/45 6	Recapitulation of Previous Votes +	−	O	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
(R) Gross	21	O	−	−	−	−	−	3	14	1	5	107
Kinzer	9	+	−	−	−	−	−	3	15	..	26	116
Kunkel	13	+	−	O	O	−	+	6	12	..	32	131
McConnell	16	−	−	−	−	−	−		2		34	125
Rich 49	15						−				19	87
Rodgers	23	+	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	12	126
Simpson	17	−	−	−	−	−	O	2	15	1	20	70
Tibbott	26	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	6	112
Wolfenden	7	−	O	−	+	−	−	5	12	1	4	140
RHODE ISLAND												
(D) Fogarty	2	+	−	+	+	+	O	18	..	..	23	151
Forand	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	34	143
SOUTH CAROLINA												
(D) Bryson	4	+	−	−	−	−	−	10	8	..		
Hare	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	9	6	3	26	47
McMillan	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	9	7	2		
Richards	5	O	−	O	O	−	−	11	5	2		
Riley	2						−					
[Fulmer, D]		+	+	−	−	−		8	3	7		
Rivers	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	9	7	2		
SOUTH DAKOTA												
(R) Case	2	−	−	O	O	−	−	7	11	..	18	48
Mundt	1	−	−	O	O	−	−	5	9	4	50	178
TENNESSEE												
(D) Cooper	9	+	−	−	−	+	−	13	5	..	22	29
Courtney	7	+	−	−	−	O	O	13	4	1		
Davis	10	+	−	−	+	O	−	12	5	1		
Earthman	5						O				23	32
[McCord, D] 50		O	O	O	O	−		12	5	1		
Gore	4	+	−	−	−	O	O	12	4	2	11	32
Kefauver	3	+	−	+	+	+	+	16	1	1	21	48
Murray	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	9	5	8	31
Priest	6	+	−	−	+	+	+	16	2	..	28	30
(R) Jennings	2	−	−	−	−	−	O	3	12	3	9	82
Reece	1	−	O	O	O	−	O	3	13	2		
TEXAS 51												
(D) Beckworth	3	−	−	−	+	−	−	10	8	..	4	44
Combs	2						+				26	36
[Dies, D] 52		O	O	O	O	O		3	7	8		
Fisher	21	−	−	O	O	−	−	6	10	2		
Gossett	13	−	−	−	−	−	−	7	10	1	1	49
Johnson, Luther	6	−	O	−	−	−	+	10	8	..	4	36
Johnson, Lyndon	10	+	−	−	+	+	O	14	4	..	13	34
Kilday	20	−	−	−	+	O	−	4	12	2		
Lanham	12	−	O	−	−	−	−	6	12	..	18	41
Lyle							+				10	44
[Kleberg, D] 53	14	−	−	−	−	−		3	11	4		
Mahon	19	−	−	−	+	−	−	11	7	..	17	47
Mansfield 54	9	O	O	−	−	−	+	8	8	2	1	29
Patman	1	O	O	O	O	O	+	14	4	..	19	47
Pickett	7						+				4	36
[Patton, D] 55		−	−	−	−	−		12	5	1		
Poage	11	−	+	O	O	+	+	6	11	1	20	36
Rayburn 56	4										6	52
Russell 57	17	−	+	O	O	−	−	9	8	1	4	32

49 New Congressional district.
50 McCord not a candidate, nominated for Governor.
51 All figures for Texas are unofficial; they have been supplied by the Texas Election Bureau, a private agency.
52 Dies not a candidate.
53 Kleberg defeated in primary.
54 August run-off primary figures given.
55 Patton defeated in primary; August run-off primary figures given.
56 Speaker of the House; does not vote except in case of a tie.
57 August run-off primary figures given.

	District	6/14/44 1	6/22/44 2	9/18/44 3	9/18/44 4	12/ 5/44 5	1/ 3/45 6	Recapitulation of Previous Votes +	−	O	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
(D) Sumners	5	−	−	−	−	−	O	6	9	3	8	50
Thomas	8	+	−	−	+	+	+	10	6	2	16	48
Thomason	16	−	−	−	+	−	+	10	7	1		
West	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	15	2		
Worley	18	−	−	−	+	−	−	10	6	2	24	35
UTAH												
(D) Granger	1	O	O	+	+	+	+	13	..	5	16	103
Robinson	2	+	−	+	+	+	+	14	2	2	35	144
VERMONT												
(R) Plumley	At Large	O	O	−	−	−	+	2	12	4	31	123
VIRGINIA												
(D) Bland	1	−	−	−	−	−	+	10	6	2	18	29
Burch	5	+	−	−	+	O	+	9	8	1	20	29
Daughton	2					−	O				12	37
[Harris, D] 58		−	−	O	O			8	9	1		
Drewry	4	+	−	−	−	−	−	9	9	..		
Flannagan	9	+	−	+	+	+	+	15	2	1	8	60
Robertson	7	+	−	−	+	−	−	8	9	1	8	42
Satterfield	3	+	−	−	+	−	+	7	7	4		
Smith	8	+	−	−	+	−	−	6	9	3	21	53
Woodrum	6	+	−	−	+	−	+	8	8	2	17	45
WASHINGTON												
(D) Coffee	6	+	+	+	+	+	O	17	..	1	30	132
De Lacy	1						+				15	223
[Magnuson, D] 59		+	+	+	+	O		11	..	7		
Jackson	2	+	+	O	O	O	O	13	..	5	26	124
Savage	3						+				4	111
[Norman, R]		−	−	+	+	−		6	12	..		
(R) Holmes	4	−	−	O	O	−	+	5	13	..	19	93
Horan	5	−	−	O	O	−	−	4	14	..	5	120
WEST VIRGINIA												
(D) Bailey	3						+				6	110
[Rohrbough, R]		−	−	−	+	−		4	14	..		
(D) Hedrick	6						+				24	145
[Smith, D] 60		+	−	O	O	−		9	5	4		
Kee	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	2	..	5	106
Neely	1						O				1	116
[Schiffler, R]		+	−	−	+	−		5	13	..		
(D) Randolph	2	+	O	−	+	−	−	8	8	2	9	108
(R) Ellis	4	O	−	−	−	−	−	1	16	1	3	133
WISCONSIN												
(D) Biemiller	5						+				10	174
[McMurray, D] 61		+	+	+	+	+		18	..	..		
Wasielewski	4	+	O	−	+	+	+	9	7	2	48	163
(R) Byrnes	8						−				7	126
[Dilweg, D]		+	O	−	+	−		17	..	1		
Henry	2						−				41	132
[Sauthoff, P] 62		+	+	+	+	+		16	2	..		
(R) Keefe	6	−	−	−	+	−	−	6	12	..	38	112
Murray	7	−	−	−	+	−	−	7	8	1	42	106
O'Konski	10	+	−	−	−	−	−	9	7	2	25	95
Smith	1	−	−	−	+	−	−	5	13	..	50	99
Stevenson	3	−	−	−	−	O	+	8	8	2	47	106
(P) Hull	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	15	3	..		
WYOMING												
(R) Barrett	At Large	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	14	..	11	96

58 Harris not a candidate.
59 Magnuson not a candidate; elected Senator.
60 Smith not a candidate.
61 McMurray not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for Senator.
62 Sauthoff not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for Senator.

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Analysis of House Votes

The eighteen roll-call votes recorded in the UDA-New Republic supplement of May 8, 1944, and recapitulated in the above charts were on the following measures: Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Fulbright Resolution, Appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA, Liquidation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Limiting Policy Makers on Price Orders in the OPA, Appropriations for Soil-Conservation Payments Increased by $100,000,000, Refusal to Appropriate $10,000,000 More for the Rural Electrification Program, Lifting the $67,200 Salary Limit, No Incentive Payments to Farmers on Certain Crops, Bates Motion to Recommit Disney Resolution, Sustaining the President's Veto of the Anti-Subsidy Bill, the Tax Bill and Overriding Its Veto, Keeping Labor out of Politics, Overriding Veto of Smith-Connally Bill, Continuing the Dies Committee, the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill, the Soldiers'-Vote Bill.

The six most significant House roll calls since our last supplement are recorded on pages 189-93. They are:

No. 1. *Dirksen Amendment of OPA Bill.* – This amendment would have taken from the Price Control Act a uniform jurisdiction, such as the Emergency Court of Appeals, in favor of some hundreds of varying interpretations according to the particular opinions of federal district judges. The amendment, which would have vitiated price control, was passed 200 to 181, but was rejected by the House-Senate Conferees. Sixty-three Democrats joined 137 Republicans to approve the amendment on June 14, 1944.[1]

No. 2. *Exempting Insurance from Anti-Trust Laws.* – The Supreme Court decision that insurance is interstate commerce was used to stampede the House, by a vote of 283 to 54 on June 22, 1944, into approving the Bailey-Walter bill to exempt insurance from the anti-trust laws. Only one Republican and 52 Democrats stood out against the fire-insurance lobby which was desperately attempting to block the Justice Department's prosecution of 200 fire-insurance companies for boycott and monopoly.

[1] Minor-party votes are omitted from these analyses.

No. 3. *Travel Allowance to War Workers.* – On September 18, 1944, the House, by a vote of 239 to 90, refused to compromise with the Senate in granting a minimum allowance to those patriotic workers who had left their homes to do war work in distant communities and who will be stranded when peace breaks out and war industry stops. Only 67 Democrats and 23 Republicans defended human rights on this issue.

No. 4. *Unemployment Insurance for Federal Workers.* – By a vote of 174 to 154, on the same day, the House refused to concur with the Senate in providing for unemployment insurance for federal workers during the reconversion period, although this refusal was a direct slap in the faces of those men and women who chose to give up their unemployment-benefit rights in private industry in order to help their country in time of war. One hundred and four Republicans and 70 Democrats combined in this insult to patriotic Americans.

No. 5. *Social-Security Freeze.* – On December 5, 1944, the House again voted, by the overwhelming majority of 262 to 72, to freeze the social-security tax at one percent, thus making it impossible to build up enough social-security reserves during the present war prosperity to take care of needs during the tough days ahead in reconversion and after. Only 63 Democrats and 6 Republicans opposed the freeze, which the President condemned when he signed the bill.

No. 6. *The Permanent "Dies" Committee.* – This is the only vote of the new Seventy-ninth Congress now available. It was taken barely one hour after the House convened on January 3. This reactionary stampede, led by Rankin of Mississippi, represents a shocking proof to progressives that the victories of 1944 were not sufficient to break the power of the Unholy Alliance of Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans. Seventy Democrats, almost all from the South, joined with 137 Republicans to make the shameful Dies Committee a permanent menace, despite the defeat at the polls of four of the seven members of the last committee.

Copies of the Supplement

A Congress to Win the War and the Peace

published May 8, 1944, are still available at 10¢ each, in quantities of 10 or more 6¢ each, postpaid. The recapitulations of previous votes in the present charts are from this supplement.

Available also are the supplements, "A Congress to Win the War," published May 18, 1942, and "Reaction in Congress," published August 2, 1943.

Taken together, these supplements provide a handy reference work on the votes of members of Congress since the historic Guam Harbor Improvement Bill of February, 1939. All the measures of crucial importance of the war period are covered: Conscription Act, Draft Extension, Lend-Lease, Smith Anti-Labor Bill, Ban on Arming Ships, etc.

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The Record of The Senate[1]

	Poll Tax Cloture	George Amendment to Kilgore Proposals	Bailey Amendment Against Public Power	Social Security Freeze	Confirming Clayton Nomination	Recapitulation of 18 Votes on Bills Recorded in Supplement of May 8, 1944				
	5/15/44	8/11/44	11/24/44	12/ 8/44	12/19/44	+	−	0	*Margin of Victory in Thousands*	*Total Vote Cast in Thousands*
	1	2	3	4	5					
ALABAMA										
(D) Bankhead ('48)	−	−	−	+	+	8	8	2		
Hill ('50)	−	+	+	+	+	11	7	..	25	228
ARIZONA										
(D) Hayden ('50)	−	+	+	+	−	12	5	1	50	130
McFarland ('46)	−	+	+	+	−	13	4	1	62	141
ARKANSAS										
(D) Fulbright ('50)									17	176
[Caraway]	−	−	+	+	−	8	9	1		
McClellan ('48)	−	−	+	−	−	4	13		81	188
CALIFORNIA										
(D) Downey ('50)	+	+	+	0	+	14	1	3	152	3305
(R) Johnson 2 ('46)	+	−	+	−	+	..	8	10		
COLORADO										
(D) Johnson ('48)	+	+	+	−	−	11	7	..	4	348
(R) Millikin ('50)	−	−	−	−	−	2	14	2	63	495
CONNECTICUT										
(D) Maloney ('46)*	+	−	−	+	−	12	6	..	58	784
McMahon ('50)									39	828
(R) [Danaher]	+	−	−	−	−	11	5	2		
DELAWARE										
(D) Tunnell ('46)	+	+	+	−	−	18	..	..	4	135
(R) Buck ('48)	−	−	0	−	−	3	13	1	8	85
FLORIDA										
(D) Andrews ('46)	−	−	0	−	−	8	7	3	175	450
Pepper ('50)	+	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	67	380
GEORGIA										
(D) George ('50)	−	−	−	−	−	5	13	..	176	246
Russell ('48)	−	−	+	+	+	7	10	1	176	288
IDAHO										
(D) Taylor ('50)									5	209
[Clark]	+	−	0	0	−	7	8	3		
(R) Thomas ('48)	−	0	−	−	0	2	10	6	4	142
ILLINOIS										
(D) Lucas ('50)	+	0	+	+	−	13	3	2	217	3914
(R) Brooks ('48)	+	−	−	−	−	3	11	4	203	2973
INDIANA										
(R) Capehart ('50)									22	1651
(D) [Jackson] 3	+	+				6	1			
(R) [Jenner]4			−	−	−				82	1645
(R) Willis ('46)	+	−	−	−	+	3	14	1	28	1760
IOWA										
(R) Hickenlooper ('50)									30	1022
(D) [Gillette]	−	+	+	−	−	6	10	2		
(R) Wilson ('48)	+	−	0	−	−	4	12	1	115	708
KANSAS										
(R) Capper ('48)	+	−	+	−	+	7	11	..	84	497
Reed ('50)	+	−	0	0	−	4	12	2	115	670
KENTUCKY										
(D) Barkley ('50)	+	+	+	+	−	16	1	1	84	847
Chandler ('48)	−	−	+	−	+	10	5	3	42	392
LOUISIANA										
(D) Ellender ('48)	−	−	+	−	−	13	4	1	115	321
Overton ('50)	−	−	0	−	+	4	12	2	12	95
MAINE										
(R) Brewster ('46)	−	−	0	−	−	6	8	4	44	256
White ('48)	−	−	−	−	−	6	11	1	56	167
MARYLAND										
(D) Radcliffe ('46)	−	−	−	−	−	12	6	..	190	609
Tydings ('50)	−	−	−	0	−	5	13	..	131	558
MASSACHUSETTS										
(D) Walsh ('46)	+	+	+	−	−	7	10	1	137	2027
(R) Saltonstall ('48)									562	1911
[Weeks] 5	+	−	−	−	−	2	2			
MICHIGAN										
(R) Ferguson ('48)	+	−	+	−	−	6	9	2	28	1190
Vandenberg ('46)	+	−	−	−	−	10	8	..	113	2000
MINNESOTA										
(R) Ball ('48)	+	0	+	+	0	10	5	2	142	758
Shipstead ('46)	−	+	+	−	+	7	11	..	330	1210
MISSISSIPPI										
(D) Bilbo ('46)	−	0	+	−	+	7	9	2	29	154
Eastland ('48)	−	−	+	0	−	5	11	1	18	132
MISSOURI										
(D) Truman 6 ('46)	+	+	0	0	−	14	1	3	44	1819
(R) Donnell ('50)									2	1559
(D) [Clark] 7	+	−	−	−	−	7	11	..		
MONTANA										
(D) Murray ('48)	+	+	+	+	+	12	1	5	1	171
Wheeler ('46)	−	+	+	−	−	5	11	2	113	241
NEBRASKA										
(R) Butler ('46)	0	−	+	−	−	5	12	1	93	597
Wherry ('48)	+	−	+	−	−	2	14	1	77	380
NEVADA										
(D) McCarran ('50)	−	+	0	0	−	8	8	2	9	52
Scrugham 8 ('46)	0	+	0	0	−	6	4	7	7	41
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
(R) Bridges ('48)	−	−	−	−	−	4	9	5	5	162
Tobey ('50)	+	−	0	−	0	6	8	4	4	217
NEW JERSEY										
(R) Hawkes ('48)	−	−	−	−	−	3	13	1	89	1222
Smith 9 ('46)				−	−				30	1864
(D) [Walsh]	−	−	0			5	3			

[1] For explanation of Senate charts, see page 189, footnote 1. The dates following the names indicate the years in which the Senators come up for reëlection. The figures in the last two columns are election results, except in the Southern states, where primary figures are used. These figures are for elections six years previous to the dates following the names.

2 Johnson won all major-party primaries.

* Senator Maloney died, January, 1945.

3 Jackson (interim appointee) not a candidate; unsuccessful candidate for Governor.

4 Jenner elected for unexpired term ending January 3, 1945.

5 Weeks (interim appointee) not a candidate.

6 Frank P. Briggs, Democrat, has been appointed as Vice President Truman's successor.

7 Clark defeated in primaries.

8 Scrugham elected in 1942 for unexpired term of Pittman, who died in office.

9 Walsh (interim appointee) not a candidate, resigned after last election; Smith, elected his successor, appointed to finish Walsh's term.

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	Poll Tax Cloture	George Amendment to Kilgore Proposals	Bailey Amendment Against Public Power	Social Security Freeze	Confirming Clayton Nomination	Recapitulation of Previous Votes				
	5/15/44	8/11/44	11/24/44	12/ 8/44	12/19/44	+	−	0	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
	1	2	3	4	5					
NEW MEXICO										
(D) Chavez ('46)	−	+	0	0	−	6	9	3	22	184
Hatch ('48)	−	+	+	+	−	11	2	5	20	107
NEW YORK										
(D) Mead ('46)	+	+	+	+	+	17	..	1	406	6403
Wagner ('50)	+	+	0	+	+	17	..	1	395	6416
NORTH CAROLINA										
(D) Bailey ('48)	−	−	−	−	−	5	11	2	116	306
Hoey ('50)									308	760
[Reynolds] 10	0	+	−	−	−	2	10	6		
NORTH DAKOTA										
(D) Moses ('50)									26	210
(R) [Nye]	−	−	+	0	−	8	9	1		
(R) Langer ('46)	+	+	+	+	+	13	4	1	8	264
OHIO										
(R) Burton ('46)	+	−	−	−	−	11	7	..	145	3060
Taft ('50)	+	−	−	−	−	6	10	2	18	2983
OKLAHOMA										
(D) Thomas ('50)	+	+	−	−	−	9	8	1	21	234
(R) Moore ('48)	−	−	−	0	0	2	12	3	38	372
OREGON										
(R) Cordon ('48)	+	−	+	−	−			2	68	453
Morse ('50)									95	443
[Holman] 11	−	−	0	−	0	5	13	..		
PENNSYLVANIA										
(D) Guffey ('46)	+	+	+	+	+	18	..	..	177	3997
Meyers ('50)									24	3730
(R) [Davis]	+	+	+	−	−	11	7	..		
RHODE ISLAND										
(D) Gerry ('46)	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1	33	315
Green ('48)	+	+	+	+	−	17	..	1	38	238
SOUTH CAROLINA										
(D) Johnston ('50)									50	251
[Smith] 12	−	0				3	15	..		
[Hall] 13				−	0					
Maybank ('48)	−	−	+	−	−	8	8	2	6	235

10 Reynolds not a candidate.
11 Holman defeated in primary.
12 Smith defeated in primary, then deceased.
13 Interim appointee, not a candidate.

	Poll Tax Cloture	George Amendment to Kilgore Proposals	Bailey Amendment Against Public Power	Social Security Freeze	Confirming Clayton Nomination	Recapitulation of Previous Votes				
	5/15/44	8/11/44	11/24/44	12/ 8/44	12/19/44	+	−	0	Margin of Victory in Thousands	Total Vote Cast in Thousands
	1	2	3	4	5					
SOUTH DAKOTA										
(R) Bushfield ('48)	−	−	−	−	−	2	13	2	31	182
Gurney ('50)	+	−	−	−	0	6	9	3	63	227
TENNESSEE										
(D) McKellar ('46)	−	−	+	+	−	6	11	1	174	417
Stewart ('48)	−	−	0	+	−	8	8	2	75	160
TEXAS										
(D) Connally ('46)	−	−	+	−	−	5	11	2	825	1088
O'Daniel 14 ('48)	−	−	−	−	−	4	12	2	18	885
UTAH										
(D) Murdock ('46)	+	0	0	0	+	14	..	4	64	247
Thomas ('50)	+	+	+	+	−	15	1	2	49	248
VERMONT										
(R) Aiken ('50)	−	+	+	+	+	9	9	..	39	123
Austin ('46)	0	−	−	−	−	9	8	1	46	130
VIRGINIA										
(D) Byrd ('46)	−	−	−	−	−	4	13	1		
Glass ('48)	0	0	0	0	−	6	3	9		
WASHINGTON										
(D) Magnuson ('50)					+				88	820
[Bone] 15	0	0				15	1	2		
Wallgren 16 ('46)	0	+	0	0	−	14	..	4	62	747
WEST VIRGINIA										
(D) Kilgore ('46)	+	+	+	+	+	15	1	2	111	874
(R) Revercomb ('48)	+	−	−	−	−	1	12	4	50	464
WISCONSIN										
(P) La Follette ('46)	+	+	+	+	+	12	6	..	52	1338
(R) Wiley ('50)	+	−	−	−	+	7	9	2	97	1256
WYOMING										
(D) O'Mahoney ('46)	−	−	+	0	−	12	4	2	19	111
(R) Robertson ('48)	−	−	+	−	−	2	13	2	7	76

14 Run-off primary results given.
15 Bone not a candidate, appointed to judgeship; Magnuson, after being elected in 1944, was appointed to finish out Bone's term.
16 Wallgren elected Governor, appointed Mitchell, Democrat, as his successor.

The 18 roll-call votes recorded in the UDA-New Republic supplement of May 8, 1944, and recapitulated in the above charts were on the following measures: O'Mahoney Amendment to Trade Agreements Act, Connally Resolution, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation, Money for the National Resources Planning Board, $100 Million for Soil Conservation, Continuing Loan Powers of the FSA, Amendment to Hamstring the TVA, Four Roll Calls on Subsidies and Price Control, Overriding the Tax-Bill Veto, Bankhead Bill to Defer Farm Labor, Overriding the Veto on the Smith-Connally Bill, Clark Amendment on Coöperatives' and Labor Unions' Income-Tax Reports, the Soldiers'-Vote Bill, Buck Amendment to Eliminate the FEPC from Russell Bill, 1942 Poll-Tax Cloture Vote.

The five most significant roll calls held in the Senate since publication of the last supplement, and recorded in the above charts, are as follows:

No. 1. Poll-Tax Cloture.—On May 15, 1944, the Senate, by a vote of 44 to 36, refused to stop the filibuster and thereby prevented passage of the anti-poll-tax bill already approved by the House. Supporters of the filibuster included 13 Republicans and 31 Democrats.[1]

No. 2. The George Amendment to the Murray-Kilgore Amendment.—After a very complicated parliamentary procedure, the liberal Senators attempted to increase slightly

[1] Minor-party votes are omitted from these analyses.

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the amount of unemployment benefits for war workers laid off in the reconversion period. On August 11, 1944, the Senate rejected these increases and approved the original George Amendment by a vote of 49 to 25. Twenty-two Democrats and 3 Republicans stood with the progressives on this significant roll call.

No. 3. The Bailey Amendment to Flood-Control Bill. – This amendment would have forced the government to sell power at the point of generation for private distribution and would thus have given tremendous advantages to the private power companies. It was an effort of the private power bloc to forestall the development of public power under the proposed Missouri Valley Authority and the other projects advocated by the President. The move was defeated on November 28, 1944, by 42 to 27, with 14 Republicans and 13 Democrats in the reactionary minority.

No. 4. The Social-Security Freeze. – See House analysis No. 5. The Senate vote on December 8, 1944, was 47 for the freeze to 19 against it, with 15 Democrats and 3 Republicans included in the opposition.

No. 5. Confirming Clayton Appointment to the State Department. – The progressive fight against the reactionary nominations to the State Department was one of the most significant congressional developments in recent years, since the Senate progressives, led by Murray, Pepper, Guffey and La Follette, served notice on the President that the liberals too had to be appeased occasionally. Except for the reactionary opposition to the one liberal nomination, MacLeish, the biggest opposition was generated against Will Clayton, aide of Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones. The vote, taken on December 19, 1944, was 52 to 19. Twelve Democrats and 7 Republicans voted against Clayton.

A Political Strategy

THE FIRST THREE TERMS of the Roosevelt era can be divided roughly into two periods: the period of the New Deal and the period of war preparation and the war itself.

During the New Deal period, the years of recovery, the Administration pulled the nation out of the slough of deep depression and economic chaos by the exercise of great imagination and social vision. During this period progressives found themselves in a position of greater influence in our government than at almost any other time in American history. The Roosevelt administration had been elected in 1932, not as the result of a great organized effort of liberal forces, but merely as the only conceivable alternative to the do-nothing tactics of Hoover and a divided and backsliding Republican Party that had outlawed its best spirits as "wild jackasses." The desperation of the depression left a political vacuum that was filled by FDR and the liberals.

So great had been this vacuum and so impossible were the alternatives to the New Deal that it was never thought essential to form any cohesive, organized political force to continue the New Deal's life. The Democratic Party seemed to serve the purpose, despite its inner contradictions, because the President's personal prestige and the great popular adherence to his program assured power and patronage even to those Democrats whose political philosophy was far removed from progressive ideas.

During this period, individual liberals—the reformers, the brain-trusters, the social workers, the economists—gained office and power because they alone had the knowledge and the disinterested social perspective to formulate and carry through programs of economic reconstruction. At the same time organized labor, aided by the enactment of progressive legislation, achieved a greater stability and an enormous growth in membership. It was only natural, in view of these circumstances, that progressives should feel a complete dependence on Mr. Roosevelt and his administration, even to the extent at times of losing their own political independence. This state of affairs was considerably strengthened by the fact that if prosperity was not always right around the corner, Mr. Hoover and the Old Guard Republicans were.

It is difficult to date the actual end of the New Deal period. Some maintain that the era of reform began to taper off in 1937, near the beginning of the second term, with Secretary Morgenthau's drive to balance the budget, quickly followed by the minor depression of that year. This would coincide roughly with the "both your houses" statement on the Little Steel strike and the "quarantine" speech in October, 1937, in which the President manifested his complete awareness of the forces making for war in the world. In any case, the appointment of two Republicans to the cabinet in 1940 as Secretaries of War and of the Navy was a clear sign that the President was preparing to pay the political price which he felt war and national unity required. To state this historical fact is by no means to indicate that the President was necessarily wrong in charting his course.

The amazing fact about this post-New Deal period is that every concession FDR felt called upon to make to the Right apparently failed to conciliate the reactionary opposition to his Administration. On the contrary, each successive concession seemed to whet the appetites of anti-New Dealers, and they continued to cry for more. During this second period, the progressives were at no time able to reassert their independence, despite the political retrogression of the Administration. Chief reason for their continued dependence was that no feasible political alternative presented itself.

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Even more important was the fact that the progressives had the greatest interest in the war against fascism and could ill afford to risk victory in that fight. With the isolationists raising the cry of defeatism throughout the country, progressives found themselves in a position identical to that of the President; on the overriding issues of foreign affairs they were compelled to seek and accept allies who had little or nothing in common with a democratic domestic program.

The Administration, having been elected to guide the destinies of the nation for another four years, now faces a crucial choice of alternatives. While the war is far from won, final military victory may be gained before the fourth term is half completed. In any case, plans for the postwar world are now being made, and it is fair to say that the beginning of the fourth term coincides roughly with the beginning of the third period in the Roosevelt Administration, the period of postwar reconstruction. Which course will the President follow in this crucial final period of his long tenure of office?

Will he decide on the resurrection and expansion of the New Deal? This course would mean a complete break with the policy of social retrenchment and domestic concessions which he has followed during the war period. It would mean that the President would become again the FDR of 1936 who had "just begun to fight." It would mean a real fight, under presidential leadership, for many of the proposals of the National Resources Planning Board, for an over-all national planning agency, for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, for a revised Kilgore bill, for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, for all the valley authorities, for the plan recently announced by Senator Murray to guarantee full employment, and for other far-reaching measures which, during recent years, were put forth by Administration agencies or congressional representatives, but which never received the kind of all-out Administration support that marked the passage of social legislation during the early New Deal period.

Despite the recent defeat of a number of the outstanding congressional reactionaries and obstructionists, most of this program would meet, as it already has, the determined opposition of the still powerful coalition of conservative Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans in both House and Senate. The President, if he chose this course, would have to meet that opposition by fighting appeals to the people through frequent fireside chats such as characterized the early years of his Administration, and he would have to give encouragement to, and depend upon, a dynamic mobilization of mass support by those liberal labor and farm organizations which could be galvanized into action.

For a variety of reasons, the President and his advisers may decide that the resurrection of the New Deal is politically impossible and that the wartime coalition policy must be continued, even if that means the continuance of serious legislative concessions in the face of the problems of postwar reconstruction at home. They may feel that congressional opposition to an over-all liberal program is an insurmountable obstacle. Certainly the President is convinced that his chief obligation to history, after military victory, is the winning of the peace in the form of an international organization with power to prevent aggression. No progressive could disagree with this estimate of his task. As in pre-Pearl Harbor days, the congressional conservatives will undoubtedly seek to blackmail the President on the peace issue by demanding a heavy price in domestic legislation in return for their support of even a minimum program of international good will. The Senate, still equipped with the rule requiring a two-thirds majority to ratify a treaty, will be particularly effective in such a blackmail. And the President may decide that his only course is to yield.

No one will maintain that the President's choice of alternatives is an easy one, nor can anyone predict with any assurance what his decision will be. Probably he will attempt a combination of both courses, varying the emphasis as political expediency indicates. The campaign program for 60 million jobs in postwar America and the preliminary administration fight for the proposed Missouri Valley Authority might suggest a return to a New Deal program, but, despite the mandate of the electorate on November 7, some of the actions taken have pointed the other way, for example, the reliably rumored appointments to the crucial Surplus War Property Board (later compromised) and the reorganization of the State Department which left all progressives wondering whether they had correctly read the election returns. However, the President's message on the budget, his address to Congress on the State of the Union and his nomination of Mr. Wallace to replace Jesse Jones as Secretary of Commerce have given progressives considerable encouragement.

Whatever decision the President may reach under the influence of his close advisers and of events, *the most important single obligation of progressives, individually and collectively through their organizations, now as the fourth term gets under way, is to make their own decision, and that decision must be for the first of the two alternatives, namely a fight for an overall progressive program, both in foreign and domestic policy*. In other words, the progressives must make a liberal declaration of independence.

Such a decision by liberals in no way implies opposition to President Roosevelt. It means, very simply, that the liberal and labor forces, in making up their own minds, must help the President make up his mind. In so far as the President follows a progressive program, it goes without saying that the liberals should mobilize every ounce of energy to support him

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in the fight against the bitter reactionary opposition that will inevitably be brought into play. But if the Administration's emphasis is on the second alternative, namely that of continued concessions to the Right, the progressive forces of the country must be prepared to form an opposition to the President, responsible and constructive, but none the less opposition. They must convince the President that he cannot continue to operate in a vacuum; they must create a condition in which it will be as essential to appease progressivism as to appease reaction. The battle of some of the New Deal stalwarts, Senators Pepper, Murray and Guffey, against the State Department appointments was a historic step in this direction.

The suggestion for a liberal declaration of independence is not made in a spirit of "infantile leftism" or sectarianism or a reversion to purism, but rather on the basis of an analysis of the issues that will confront Americans in the postwar era. It is essential, first of all, to recognize that the political problem following the military defeat of fascism will be quite different from that with which progressives were faced during the period when fascism threatened the freedom of the world. It is the difference between achieving the defeat of fascism by military means and preventing its resurgence, after its military defeat. Wars can be efficiently conducted by conservative governments, as Mr. Churchill has shown, but if there is any validity at all in liberal doctrines, the problems of the peace cannot be solved by reaction. No international organization, however perfectly conceived, would have the slightest chance of maintaining the peace of the world if mass unemployment and economic chaos in this country send the world into an economic tailspin. The sound liberal theory of the intimate interrelationship between foreign and domestic policy will be particularly applicable in the postwar period. It is not enough that America participate in a world organization; the America that participates must be an economically stable America. Otherwise, there can be no lasting peace.

If, therefore, the price demanded for the passage of peace legislation is the acceptance of the economic philosophy represented by Senator George, Jesse Jones and Will Clayton, American progressives must be prepared to insist that the price is too high. If unregulated free enterprise can solve our postwar economic problems, then the liberals have been wrong in the first place and should retire permanently from the political arena. However, it goes without saying that the strategy of progressives can only be discussed on the assumption of the basic soundness of their program.

While any feasible political program involves a degree of expediency, an over-indulgence in expediency during these next four crucial years would be disastrous. Perhaps the greatest political danger facing this country will be postwar disillusionment and cynicism. The isolationists, the hate-mongers, the American fascists are betting all their money on that card. If the time ever comes when, through our own failures, these subversives can point the finger of scorn at us and say "They were wrong and we were right!" it will be a sorry day for all decent Americans. Because they will certainly add, "and they got us into this mess!"

When the subversives say "they," they will mean the liberals. It should never be forgotten that, whatever policies the Administration may follow and with whatever results, in the eyes of the public any administration headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt is a "liberal" administration. The failure of such an administration to solve the problem of employment will be exploited, not only by the old-fashioned American conservatives, but by honest and sincere pacifists and isolationists and by native fascists who are now biding their time issuing badly typed mimeographed sheets. If the responsible labor and farm leaders and other liberals should decide to go along with the Administration on a conservative policy which fails, considerable numbers of their present followers would desert them in desperation and many would then listen to irresponsible crackpots and demagogues whose objectives would be far from democratic.

In the light of these considerations, and in terms of the democratic future of America, *it would be far better for a progressive program to be defeated by a reactionary Congress than to have a liberal administration defeated for the lack of a program.* In any case, progressives must not assume the responsibility for failure if the policies adopted are not their policies.

One consoling thought is that millions of Americans recall the days of the depression, with mass unemployment and unsold and unsalable crops. If they don't remember these conditions now, their repetition would soon remind them. And they will remember that starvation in the midst of plenty is unnecessary in America, that there are available methods for the distribution of the abundance which this nation can produce, methods which were adopted in the crusading days of the New Deal. Consequently, the period of reaction which seems possible or likely now, is apt to be far shorter than the period which followed World War I.

The job of progressives during the next four years is to present—and fight for—a democratic alternative to chaos, both national and international. In so far as this means opposition to the President whom they have loyally supported through four national elections, they must be ready to assume the responsibilities of that eventuality. Assuming, however, the complete sincerity of the Administration in wishing to follow as liberal a course as it finds politically expedient, it will welcome any constructive pressure from progressives which would improve its bargaining position in the face of the reactionary pressure which will be ceaselessly exercised both in and out of government.

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Who Are the Progressives?

Without the great unifying force of the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt on the ballot in the postwar period, progressives will need more than a dynamic program which can be presented as an alternative to chaos. If their program is to have a political impact in this country, they will have to base their organizational strategy on a realistic understanding of the social psychology of the American people. They will have to take into account all those population groups which must be won, either wholly or in part, to the progressive fight.

Because so often, in liberal analyses, farmers are mentioned merely as an afterthought, it may be well to consider first the progressive potentialities of this large section of our population. Generalizing about farmers is like generalizing about the weather: it's never the same everywhere. The farmer is customarily regarded by city people as a conservative who will vote the Republican ticket in the Midwest, regardless, and the Democratic ticket in the South, regardless. Actually, farmers are not nearly so different from other folks as they are like them. They want pretty much the same things. The principal difference is that, by and large, they get fewer of the things they want. If the small country towns are separated from the real farm vote, it will be found that farmers themselves are more often progressive than the people in small towns.

Farmers are still the largest depressed group, economically, in the United States. Very few of the six million American farmers have a voice. The channels of communication are clogged and fouled, particularly in the farm press, where the ineffable Joe Pew's Farm Journal has a circulation of 2,300,000. Small country weeklies are often more outspoken than large farm-state dailies in sounding off on farmers' griefs. Generally, farmers are confused, divided, urgently in need of organizations and programs in their own interest.

In this country, agriculture has never been based on peasantry, however closely it may resemble that system in some spots. The American Revolution itself was the work largely of an agrarian country, and of the yeoman farmer within that country. There has always been a healthy disrespect for the traditional and the tory in most farm sections of the United States. One need only recall the days of Andrew Jackson and his reinvigoration of the Democratic Party, the rallying of Western farmers behind Lincoln and his homestead laws, the Farmers' Alliance, the Populist Party and, in the recent past, such tendencies as the Farm Holiday movement, to acknowledge that much of the genuinely progressive tradition of this country is rooted out on the farms.

Consequently, liberals must give close attention to the realities of the agricultural conditions when they think ahead. Two years ago, so far as the press, radio and other general avenues of communication were concerned, you would have received the impression that nine out of every ten farmers were against the use of subsidies to control inflation.

The truth was, of course, that farmers as a whole were not in a patriotic and moral lather over subsidies and were, in fact, aware of the improvement in income, the paying off of farm indebtedness and the relative prosperity of the war period. This was proved when the National Farmers' Union supported the use of subsidies and its leadership took the issue into every state convention of the organization. The result was a sweeping endorsement by the rank and file. The same thing can be shown on nearly all major issues. In the Department of Agriculture are experts who study attitudes of farmers. They have found that if they ask farmers, "Are you in favor of being regimented?" they will get "No" as the answer just as they would from any other group. But if they ask farmers, "Are you in favor of the government helping to provide better medical care in your county?" or "better schools" or "better roads" or any of the other things farmers want, the answer is almost invariably "Yes."

The moral for liberals is obvious. They must remember that the great mass of farmers are among the "have-nots," that they strongly want a better life, which includes the Four Freedoms, and, most important, that they are largely without representatives who can truly speak for them. Only the National Farmers' Union seeks to represent the mass of farmers. The other "farm" organizations must, in the main, be regarded as speaking for others.

Most liberal analyses start with labor, and too often end there. Obviously no progressive program can be effected without the full support of the organized workers. It is a truism that a strong labor movement has been the bulwark of democratic stability throughout the world, and that the first step in the march to fascism has always been, and will undoubtedly continue to be, a full-fledged attack on labor. But labor cannot possibly win on its own in the present political composition of America; it must identify its own interests with those of all the common people.

In terms of this approach, the CIO, through its Political Action Committee, merits study, not only for its participation in the last campaign but even more especially for the manner of its participation. The PAC's judgment of candidates, its literature and the public statements of its leaders were based, not on a vested interest, but on a concern for the problems af-

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fecting all citizens. This seems to be one of the most encouraging political developments in recent years.

The creation of the PAC and its effective work do not completely solve the labor problem for progressives. The CIO represents numerically less than half of the organized labor movement. The AFL and the Brotherhoods still limit their political activity nationally to endorsements, and not always of progressive candidates. However, some of the international unions in the AFL and an increasing number of state and local organizations are moving toward fuller political participation. This is an evolutionary process to be encouraged by progressives with more understanding of labor history than has at times been indicated. Liberals too often forget that the trade-union movements of Europe grew out of political movements, while in America "business unionism" on an exclusively economic base was the sole object of labor organization in its early years. This slant cannot be changed in a day. Perhaps the greatest political danger in the labor field would be an intensification, after the war, of the rivalry between the two great labor federations. In this event, especially without the unifying force of FDR, the division along economic lines might lead to political cleavages which would completely shatter the progressive movement. Conversely, labor harmony would be the greatest boon to the progressive cause.

The middle class, or perhaps middle classes, have always been found by progressives to be the most difficult to organize, even including the small group of middle-class liberals who are constantly taunted with being intellectuals. Yet fascism, which is an extreme form of organization, has found its largest following among the middle class, always when this layer of the population is defeated and desperate. The challenge to progressives is to win large sections of the middle class without waiting till it becomes desperate or without appealing to its sense of frustration against labor. The creation every election year of "independent" or "non-partisan" committees for various candidates is proof of the necessity felt by all politicians of winning over that political animal which used to be called the "mug-wump" and is now called merely the "independent voter." It is this voter, decisive in the 1944 campaign, whose importance is increasing in almost direct proportion to the diminishing power of the party machine in American politics.

In recent campaigns, particularly this last one, the foreign-policy issue has been of real help to FDR's Democratic Party in winning the independent voter. As long as foreign policy remains the overriding issue in American political affairs, progressives may benefit by alliance with this middle-class support. However, since domestic policy is likely to take precedence in postwar elections, there is a grave danger that the middle-class citizen will vote his extreme individualism in domestic matters rather than his internationalism in foreign affairs. He must be brought to see the interrelationship between foreign and domestic affairs which liberals have always stressed. The experience of the powerful Coöperative Commonwealth Federation in Canada is proof that this is politically feasible.

In postwar America, progressives will be faced with the political factor of 12 million returning service men and women. Ideally these men and women should not be considered as a group, because they are members of all population groups, roughly in the same proportion as the size of the population groups themselves. But many of them, particularly those who will have been overseas, will return to civilian life with some characteristics of a group psychology. They will have had experiences not shared by the rest of the population; they will be far more mature than their years; their sense of values will have undergone major modifications; they will have lost some prejudices and perhaps gained others; they will demand their rights; and many of them will not be so quick to see that in the long run their interests cannot be separated from the interests of the entire American community.

The results of the soldiers' vote are proof that the rank and file of our army and navy is not so completely reactionary as isolated stories might indicate; but the soldiers' vote in California on the proposed anti-labor legislation is a check to the optimism that some may glean from the preponderant pro-Roosevelt sentiment expressed in the presidential contest. Certainly the veterans will be ready for any radical innovations necessary for providing jobs, and they will not worry overmuch about balanced budgets or higher tax rates. They will be a force to be reckoned with politically. If they are organized by ambitious men who are motivated by anti-labor and reactionary aims, anti-democratic forces will have gained a valuable striking force. If liberals are to win a fair share of veterans' support, clearly the progressive movement that veterans find on their return to civilian life must be broad, varied and inclusive in its constituency, and not under the actual or ostensible sponsorship or control of organized labor.

Whatever organizational patterns are finally set by American progressives, there must be room for those groups of our citizens without which no liberal movement can hope to achieve success in this country. It is true that the New Deal accomplished the temporary amalgamation of workers, farmers and middle-class independents without any cohesive organization at all, but it took the worst depression in our history to make this possible. The problem now is not to wait for a similar economic breakdown to bring about another such amalgamation; the problem is to organize our forces to prevent the breakdown, because no one can say how many increasingly serious depressions democracy could survive in this country.

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The Parties

POLITICAL ACTION necessarily involves an attitude toward, and some some kind of relationship with, political parties. You cannot vote for the Political Action Committee, or the National Farmers' Union, or the Union for Democratic Action. You have to vote for candidates nominated by parties legally organized under the laws of the several states. Progressives, individually and through their organizations, must therefore arrive at some understanding of their relationship to political parties, both existing and potential.

Ideally a national third party embodying progressive principles and nominating (and electing!) liberal candidates might seem the most plausible solution. This was the solution unsuccessfully offered by most progressives during the early thirties. Even today most progressives would welcome the existence of a powerful liberal or labor party similar in program and influence to the British Labor Party, although if such a party existed in America, most liberals, like their British counterparts, would quite properly spend much time and energy attacking it for its actions or its failures to act. However, responsible progressives should weigh carefully the practical problems involved in its creation.

The obstacles to the formation of a national third party are enormous. In the first place, the two-party tradition is deeply engrained in our political psychology. Not since the victory of the Republican Party with Lincoln in 1860 has a new party come close to electoral success. Several times, as in 1912 and 1924, new parties have been launched to support a particular political personality, and then died after overwhelming electoral defeat. Furthermore, election laws enacted by the states are generally so unfavorable to third parties that it seems almost impossible for a new party, or even such old third parties as the Socialist, to get on the ballot in all 48 states. The job of rectifying these unfair laws would be the task of a decade.

The chief obstacle, however, to the formation of a third party is neither tradition nor election laws; it is rather the justified fear of splitting progressive strength to such an extent as to give the reactionaries a clear path to power. Such a risk might be taken in years of political "normalcy," but few will predict such years for America in the foreseeable future. Too many Americans recall the tragic consequences in European countries where so many parties existed that no government could be formed that was not a diluted coalition, with all the weaknesses that coalition entails. There may not be too many all-out progressives in the Seventy-ninth Congress, but the formation of a national third party would inevitably involve the defeat of most of those who now fight for a liberal program.

Many third-party advocates point to the success in New York State of the American Labor and Liberal Parties, which rolled up a combined total of more than 825,000 votes last November out of 6,300,000 votes cast. But this highest third-party figure since the formation of the American Labor Party in 1936 is still only 13 percent of the total vote in a state that includes New York City, which has the largest number of progressives of any city in the country. Furthermore, and this is often forgotten, in only a few of the 48 states can a candidate run on more than one ticket, as in New York, with the combined total of his votes on the several lines being counted as his grand total. Thus, third and fourth parties can be formed in New York without splitting the progressive vote, and it is highly improbable that the American Labor and Liberal Parties would have rolled up nearly so large a total if FDR and Senator Wagner had not headed both their tickets. Actually, a third party can be justified in states with election laws similar to New York's because of the bargaining power it gives the progressives in dealing with the two major parties, even though that power is purchased at the price of the franchise in the primaries of the major parties. But in states with less favorable election laws, a third party can only mean a serious split in the liberal vote, at least until years of growth have made the new party the second, and ultimately the first, party in the state.

Recent developments, whether we like it or not, have been clearly away from third-party tendencies. This last year has seen the virtual demise of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin and the unification of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota with the Democratic Party of that state, and with healthy results. In North Dakota the Non-Partisan League, which was practically a party within the Republican Party, has virtually collapsed as a political force.

Lacking a third party, a liberal second party would do. This would mean an all-out fight for progressive programs and candidates within the two major parties. If this fight is carried on and irretrievably lost in both parties, then those forces which carried on the fight may be prepared to leave the major parties and to form their own political instrument. In this sense the third-party issue can only be decided historically, and not as the abstract projection of an idea.

There are those who believe that the Republican Party *could* become a more liberal party than the Democratic Party, since it is not encumbered by the reactionary Southerners with their almost unbreakable seniority in Congress or by city machines as strongly entrenched or as indispensable as exist in the Democratic Party. This was the great hope of Wendell

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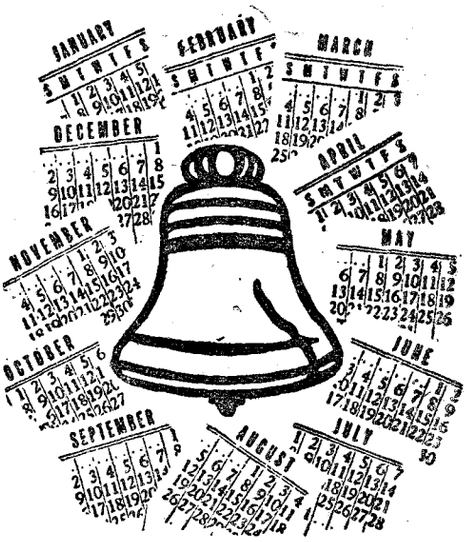

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2—Liberal Party's State Legislative Program for 1945

3—Declaration and National Platform of the Liberal Party

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•

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Willkie. To most progressives it seemed a very faint hope when Willkie lived and fought within his party. Since his death the hope has further diminished. Can it revive?

Actually the Republican Party nationally is the party of big industry and finance. But it has a great tradition of past progressivism. It holds the allegiance of the agrarian liberals who gave impetus to the great progressive movements of the late nineteenth century and during the first years of this century, and who went with Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936 but have since returned to the Republican fold. The GOP's chief stock in trade is a fictitious individualism that would continue to deliver the many into the hands of steadily growing monopolistic big business.

There are many liberals among the Republican rank and file and some in public office. At the moment, having lost their great leader, they are completely unorganized. Their course in these coming years will be determined by the leadership they can find among themselves and by the stress of events. Independent progressives should continue to work with them, understanding the difficulty of the decisions liberal Republicans must make in determining whether they should risk the danger of leaving their party completely. If and when liberal Republicans are nominated for office, progressives should support them, realizing that a party revolution would be needed to make of the present GOP an instrument for liberalism. The party of the first Roosevelt's Square Deal has become overwhelmingly the party of American reaction.

With the second Roosevelt the deal became new and the party Democratic. Perhaps the greatest miracle that FDR has worked during the past years has been that of keeping together the disparate political forces that constitute the Democratic Party. At every election they have threatened to burst the seams of unity. Some of the Democratic Party's most powerful figures have taken a walk, including its 1928 nominee, Al Smith, its greatest political strategist and organizer, Jim Farley, and several outstanding leaders of Southern Democracy. Yet the election results have shown far less of a split under FDR than was produced by the issue of religious bigotry in 1928.

The Great Divide at Chicago

WE PUBLISH BELOW the record of the first vote on the selection of a vice-presidential candidate at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, as it was printed in The New York Times. – THE EDITORS

Vote	State	Wallace	Truman	Bankhead	Barkley	Lucas
24	Alabama	....	....	24	....	....
10	Arizona	1	9	....	....	....
20	Arkansas	....	20	....	....	....
52	California	30	22	....	....	....
[1]12	Colorado	1	....	....	....	....
18	Connecticut	18	....	....	....	....
8	Delaware	8	....	....	....	....
[1]18	Florida	9	2	4	....	....
26	Georgia	26	....	....	....	....
10	Idaho	5	5	....	....	....
58	Illinois	....	....	....	....	58
[1]26	Indiana	5	....	....	....	....
20	Iowa	20	....	....	....	....
16	Kansas	16	....	....	....	....
24	Kentucky	....	....	....	24	....
22	Louisiana	....	22	....	....	....
10	Maine	1	5	....	3	1
[1]18	Maryland	....	....	....	....	....
[1]34	Massachusetts	12½	13½	....	7	....
[1]38	Michigan	34	1	....	....	....
24	Minnesota	24	....	....	....	....
32	Missouri	....	32	....	....	....
[1]10	Montana	4	5	....	....	....
[1]12	Nebraska	4	1	....	6	....
[1] 8	Nevada	....	1	....	1	....
10	N. Hampshire	2½	7	....	½	....
34	New Jersey	10	24	....	....	....
10	New Mexico	....	10	....	....	....
96	New York	23	69½	....	½	....
[1]30	No. Carolina	....	....	....	....	....
8	No. Dakota	8	....	....	....	....
[1]52	Ohio	24½	19½	....	2	1
[1]22	Oklahoma	....	....	....	....	....
14	Oregon	14	....	....	....	....
72	Pennsylvania	46½	23½	....	....	....
10	Rhode Island	....	10	....	....	....
[1]18	So. Carolina	....	....	5	1	....
8	So. Dakota	7	1	....	....	....
[1]26	Tennessee	....	....	....	....	....
[1]48	Texas	....	1	21	1	....
[1]10	Utah	....	....	....	....	....
6	Vermont	1½	4	....	½	....
24	Virginia	....	....	24	....	....
18	Washington	18	....	....	....	....
18	West Virgina	12	....	....	4	....
26	Wisconsin	25	1	....	....	....
[1] 8	Wyoming	....	....	....	....	....
6	Alaska	6	....	....	....	....
6	D. C.	2	4	....	....	....
6	Hawaii	6	....	....	....	....
6	Puerto Rico	....	6	....	....	....
6	Canal Zone	3	2	....	....	1
2	Virgin Islands	2	....	....	....	....
[1] 6	Philippines	....	....	....	....	....
	Totals	429½	319½	98	49½	61

[1]Votes for other candidates: O'Mahoney—Colorado 11, Massachusetts 1, Montana 1, Nevada 6, Wyoming 8: total 27. Broughton—North Carolina 30, South Carolina 12, West Virginia 1: total 43. McNutt—Indiana 21, Nebraska 1, Ohio 2, West Virginia 1, Philippines 6: total 31. Kerr—Michigan 1, Oklahoma 22: total 23. Cooper—Tennessee 26. Thomas—Utah 10. O'Conor—Maryland 18. Pepper—Florida 3. Murphy—Michigan 2. Rayburn—Ohio 2. Timmons—Texas 1.

Not voting 32½.

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In terms of the progressive potentialities of the Democratic Party, the most encouraging event in recent years was the fight put up for the renomination of Henry Wallace at its convention last July. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of that fight, even though it was lost. It was perhaps the most principled battle for progressivism waged in either of the major parties in this generation. The first roll-call vote on the vice-presidential nomination, reproduced on page 204, is the most concrete record we possess of the extent and the location of liberalism in the Democratic Party. The lines were drawn; the issues were clear; the state delegations stood up and were counted. The fact that Wallace came so close to winning on that first ballot is a testimony to the strength of popular feeling, the legitimate progressivism of many of the delegates, and the personal stature of Henry Wallace.

During this last election, the charge was made, mostly by Republicans, that the CIO-PAC and the New Dealers were seeking to "capture" the Democratic Party. "Capture" was obviously a scare-word used by Republicans whose sudden interest in the fate of the Democratic Party was indeed touching. The same people who lost sleep over the "capture" of the party by the PAC attacked it for being ntrolled by the machine politicians and the South. Clearly there can be no reasonable objection to any group's seeking to influence a political party or to gain acceptance by that party of a particular program or candidate. It is almost a truism that various political tendencies are contending for influence in the Democratic Party, just as Mr. Willkie's followers and those around Governor Dewey contended for dominance in the Republican Party.

If the liberals strengthen their forces in the Democratic Party by 1948, will the Northern city machine bosses and the Southern Democratic machines abandon the party completely and leave it without a chance of political victory? That is always a possibility, but it is highly improbable, at least in such absolute terms. And the threat can work both ways. The Northern machines whose vote-producing ability has been steadily diminishing in recent years, need labor and the progressives at least as much as the other way around, and the machine leaders care more about political success than they do about political convictions. As far as the South is concerned, it should be recalled that the Democratic Party strategy has too often been planned on the assumption that the only doubtful states are south of the Mason-Dixon line, while the opposite is obviously closer to the truth. FDR would have easily won all four of his elections even if the entire South had gone Republican.

In any case, the Democrats without FDR cannot win by imitating the policies of their Republican adversaries. Their only chance in the next elections would seem to be to become unmistakably the party of progress. The fight to make the Democratic Party such an instrument is one of the chief responsibilities of progressives during these next years.

Conclusion: Progressive Action

If PROGRESSIVISM must be translated into political action and politics must function through political parties, does it follow that every progressive must drop whatever he is doing and devote his energies exclusively to the fight for liberal ideas within a party organization? Obviously it does not, although it is clear that the parties can rarely be more liberal than their active members. For a number of reasons the parties cannot be the only field of progressive activity. In the first place, parties are inevitably influenced by non-party forces as well as by their own active membership, both in terms of candidates selected and programs adopted. The climate of political opinion, nationally and locally, is a prime determining factor. Since the aim of any political party is to win elections, the choice of candidates will be influenced by the ability of the prospective nominee to win support from various groups in the electorate, including the different sections of organized labor, the farmers, the independent voters, the veterans, and others. These groups must be strong and articulate if the political parties are to pay attention to them.

In the second place, the political battles facing this country will be increasingly affected by the nature and the intensity of the legislative fights that are waged in the coming period. Unfortunately perhaps, the American parties are by no means disciplined organizations and seldom, if ever, make any effort to mobilize public opinion for or against legislative proposals. Legislative work must be an integral part of political action.

But at this crucial point, as the fourth term gets under way, how shall the progressives organize themselves for this job and for the many others that must be met in the coming years? In seeking an answer to this all-important question, it must first be recognized that no detailed national pattern can be outlined which will be adequate to meet the varying political situations that are to be found in 48 states and in thousands of American communities within those states. The pattern must be flexible, not rigid. Anyone actively engaged in national organizational work will attest to the fact that a given issue cannot be effectively approached in the same organizational manner in every city and state.

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Even among progressives, there is often a kind of states'-rights, or even community-rights, psychology which may make local autonomous organizations far more effective than local units of national organizations. All of these factors must be taken into account because it must never be forgotten that the work which "pays off" politically is what is accomplished in the states, the cities, the towns, and finally in the precincts. No nationally generated mimeograph machine is worth its weight in paper unless its output reaches, and obtains a response from, the people in the communities of America.

The organizational responsibilities of progressives may be outlined briefly as follows:

1. *To prepare themselves programmatically and psychologically, as individuals, for the magnitude of the job ahead.* – The basic unit of any movement, good or bad, is the individual. Unless we can find enough progressive individuals with the necessary understanding, energy and devotion, we shall never have a successful progressive movement in America. In these next years it will not be enough to read a liberal newspaper or periodical as a kind of spiritual catharsis, or to write an annual letter to your congressman, or even to belong to a trade union, farm or independent liberal organization. Political machines, reactionary as well as progressive, are as strong as the "professionals" that work in them, and by "professionals" we do not mean those who make their living in organizational work but rather those who consecrate themselves to ideas they profess. There is no substitute for this type of "professional." Democratic progressivism will never compete successfully with reactionary or totalitarian movements unless it too can find and inspire individuals who not only share its ideas, but are willing to give the time and the money necessary for those ideas to have a chance of acceptance.

2. *To strengthen existing progressive organizations and to deepen the quality and extent of their progressivism.* – This means very simply that it is a primary responsibility of the members of the National Farmers' Union, of the labor organizations, AFL, CIO and the Brotherhoods, of the Union for Democratic Action, of the independent voters' committees, of the liberal Negro organizations and the various other groups in special fields, to work actively for the expansion of their own organizations and to see to it that these organizations adopt and effectively promote liberal ideas. It means a similar responsibility for the members of political parties. It means that those liberals who are not now members of progressive organizations should join them; nothing is more devastating to the liberal cause than the individual who constantly complains of the state of the world but never does anything about it because "I'm not a joiner, you know." In Germany the non-joiners joined the joiners in the concentration camps.

3. *To coördinate, in so far as possible, the programs and activities of the various peoples' organizations.* – In many ways, this is the most delicate task of all. Different organizations in the same or different fields necessarily have institutional jealousies, varying methods of approach, somewhat divergent immediate objectives, different emphases and often even contrary programs on specific points. Nevertheless, every effort must be made to stimulate parallel, if not completely coördinated, efforts on those points on which there is full agreement. Very often this coördination is more easily effected in the local communities than on a national scale, but it should be stimulated all along the line. Such over-all and independent liberal organizations as the Union for Democratic Action should be encouraged and assisted to perform this service on an informal basis. Not only must there be coördination among the various organizations, but there must also be a closer coöperation between the organizations and progressives in Congress and in other branches of government, both federal and local. Only if this coöperation is achieved can the great issues be brought to the American people and acted upon in time.

4. *Finally, to work constantly, but realistically, toward the unification of all liberal forces into a national progressive federation with which the various organizations, national, regional, state and local, can be related.* – It is an easy but rather futile task to write a manifesto proclaiming eloquently that everybody should get together. Unfortunately, in the nature of things, it is far more difficult of accomplishment. Unification grows with events; it is not proclaimed. The fundamental drive toward an ever increasing progressive unity must be in the minds and hearts of all liberal citizens. Certainly the events of the next decade, and even the next two or four years, will bring great changes, not only to every aspect of American life, but also to the world picture. Whether we move into the "brave new world" in which modern science will become the servant of the people and, under democratic direction, supply those necessities and comforts of living without which man cannot be truly free, or whether we fail before the challenge of our age and become slaves of a technology we can create but not control, may well depend upon the degree of unity in essentials that can be attained by the democratic and constructive forces in our American society.

There is no more powerful force in the world than the dynamism of freedom and democracy. The challenge to American progressives, as to the free peoples of the world, is to find within themselves the imagination, the intelligence and the energy to translate that dynamism into program, organization and action. The penalty for failure is division, depression and another war; the reward for victory is a peoples' peace in the USA and throughout the world. Within and among peoples' groups, modern man must coöperate or die.

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February 1, 1945

From: THE CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

To: ALL OUR FRIENDS AND WELL-WISHERS

GREETINGS

We consider it a great privilege to greet you in this supplement, *The Challenge to Progressives,* published by our good friend, *The New Republic.*

Quite a long time has now passed since the November elections—in fact, so long that some people are beginning to forget that the Progressives have secured a great victory. As far as PAC is concerned, we have much to be pleased with in that first round, but it is high time for us to get on with our work, for many of our friends are growing impatient. Do not misunderstand us: we do not resent that impatience. We relish it. For it is an index of how PAC is regarded and how much is expected of it.

First then we say to our friends: *PAC is here to stay.* The objectives of PAC in the future are the same as they were on the day PAC was formed. PAC's chairman formulated this objective in a recent issue of *This Week Magazine* in the following words: "To awaken the American people to their full responsibility of citizenship that we may safeguard democracy against all evil." Our objective is clear. Our program to attain this objective has also been clearly formulated in "The People's Program for 1944." That program is also for 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948 and so on—*until it is realized.*

Our problem now is to develop and organize the methods to realize this program. It is a problem in solid organization throughout the United States. Such organization is now in process of being forged and linked.

As our organization is completed and our aims translated into action, you will be the first to be told about it. In fact, we shall have to call upon you to participate and help us. For, as you know, whatever we attained in the past must truly be credited to you. The same shall hold in the future.

Signed:

SIDNEY HILLMAN, *Chairman*
R. J. THOMAS, *Secretary-Treasurer*
VAN A. BITTNER, *Vice-Chairman*
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
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If we don't know we've only begun to fight, we'd better quit right now!

The new (79th) Congress is in session. Nothing less than the destiny of America, of the whole world, is in its hands. For it is practically certain that what the 79th Congress does or fails to do in the next two years will determine the whole course of history, not only for our own time but for that of countless generations to come. Its responsibility—and ours, *yours*—is enormous.

What we have at stake

Last November we voted for a lasting peace, for 60,000,000 postwar jobs. For once the people knew *what* they wanted. But the 44 election was not, unfortunately, the last battle in the war against reaction. On the contrary. *If we don't know that we've only begun to fight, we'd better quit right now.* The 79th Congress is the imperfect instrument we've chosen to carry out our will. The 79th Congress is the means to our ends. *And it is today the only means to those ends.*

Where we go from here

Our work is cut out for us. It is only half true to say that everything is now up to Congress; it would be far truer to say that it is still up to you, to everyone of us who voted for a people's peace, a people's future. No doubt this 79th Congress will take a lot of watching—and more. It will take, by turn, a lot of prodding, a lot of encouraging, a lot of fighting, from those of us who still know what we want.

First aid for the intelligent voter

That is why during the crucial months ahead you will need the Union for Democratic Action and why it will need you. That's why, at a minimum, you will need its Congressional Newsletter, published twice monthly from Washington. In the continuing fight against reaction, the UDA Newsletter can perform a vital, indispensable service for you. It doesn't pretend to offer you a ringside seat at history in the making; it does much more. It will take you behind the scenes in Washington, into the cloakrooms, the party caucus, the powerful committees, where so often the job is done, where so often the hopes and aspirations of man are put through the wringer of political expediency. Written by Paul Sifton, of the UDA's Washington office, the Newsletter supplies material collected from many sources, by many hands, thoroughly familiar with the Washington scene. What you need to know about your Congress and Congressmen, *at the time you need to know it*, is the service the Newsletter is issued to perform, week in and week out. Its purpose is to inform you, so that your voice, your protest, your support can be made to count.

Our special limited offer

The UDA's Congressional Newsletter costs $5.00 a year (the regular price for twenty-four issues). But for a limited time only, we are making a special offer of the next

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including the famous 2-page monthly roll call, giving the voting record of Congress on vital issues (which, incidentally, many members tell us is alone worth the full subscription price). This offer is open to new subscribers only. And remember it will be withdrawn shortly. So act at once. Send in your dollar today.

A SAMPLING of the pungent style of the NEWSLETTER excerpts from recent issues

Hey, there go your coat, shirt & perhaps your pants & shoes. As so often happens in closing rounds of long card games and without crookedness by anyone, you as a taxpayer . . . are being swiftly and painlessly stripped to your unmentionables as three great cargoes of pork ("something for the boys") are launched.

Tory frame-up of Asst. Atty. Gen. Norman Littell is as skillful and complete a rubbing out as any ever pulled off by gangs of prohibition.

The cats of Darlanism are coming home with kittens.

The nation, having put out its own eye like a crazy Cyclops—with the Congressional assassination of the National Resources Planning Board—drifts toward Peace without preparation.

Ball will continue to be aces on all international issues, but has not thought things thru on domestic front. He is still deluded by the Horatio Alger tradition that cream always rises to the top.

Aiken, our pet isolationist, may eventually see that enlightenment in the home sector alone is futile in a "world of penicillin and helicopters with built-in waffle irons and trans-oceanic robot bombs."

Backing idea of making government collection agent for GI loans will be swarm of real estate operators who smell greatest chance since Florida boom to make quick killing.

I agree with this supplement. I think, too, that the day of the unattached, on-the-loose liberal is passed. I realize that as an individual I can only be effective politically by joining in organizational activity. I do want my protest, my support to count. And I want the UDA's important work to go on. Therefore, I want to enroll as a member of your organization. (Fee $10 a year, including a full year of the Newsletter). I'm signing the coupon below now!

THE UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

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REINHOLD NIEBUHR *Chairman* — **ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE** *Treasurer* — **JAMES LOEB, JR.** *Director*

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